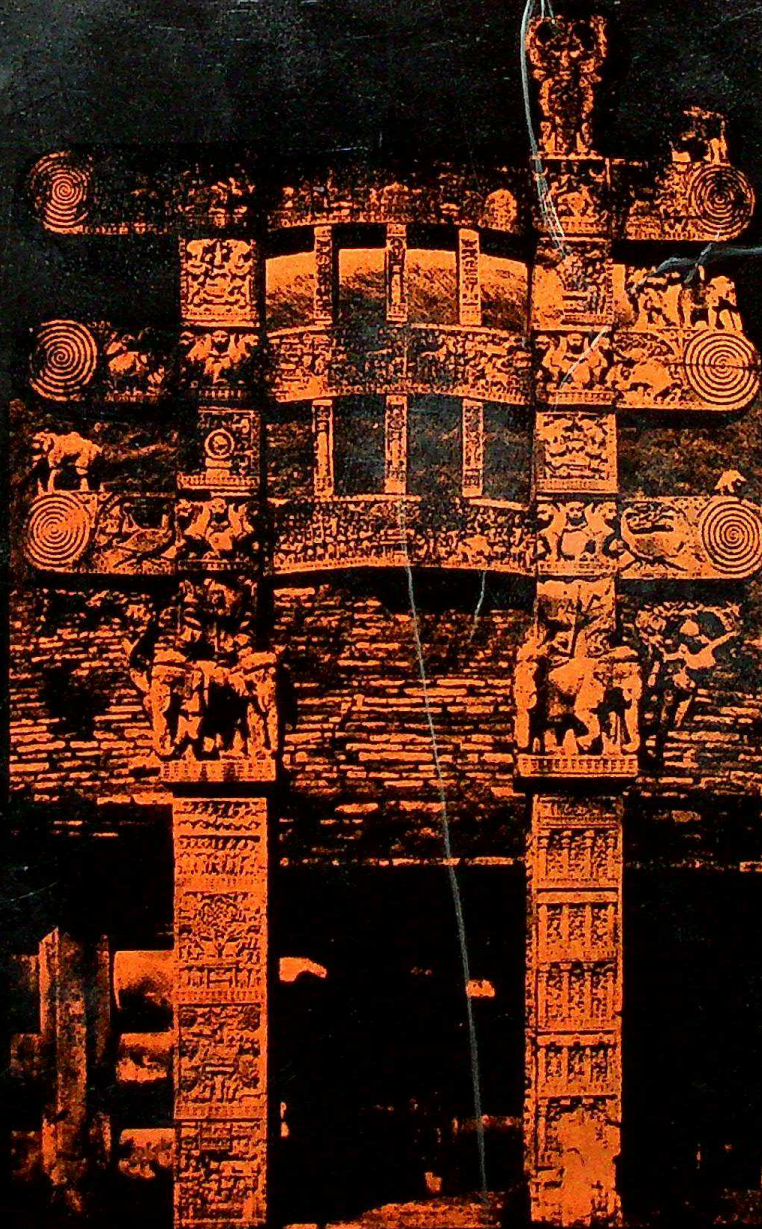


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MATERIAL CULTURE OF SANCHI



K.KRISHNA MURTHY

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MATERIAL CULTURE OF SANCHI

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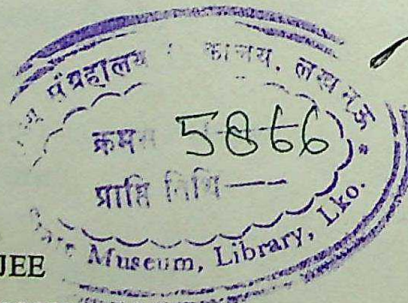
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Material Culture of Sanchi

K. KRISHNA MURTHY

SUNDEEP PRAKASHAN
DELHI

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DEDICATED
To
My beloved Father
With great esteem

Preface

The study of the material culture of our ancient past as delineated in the sculptures and murals is still in the inceptive stages. Pioneering work has, however, been done in the field by the scholars like K.D.B. Codrington, Sivaramamurti, Motichandra, Agrawala and others. The learned books—*Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum* by Sivaramamurti, *Ajanta—A Cultural Study* by Dhavalikar, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa—A Cultural Study* and *Gandhāra Sculptures—A Cultural Survey* by myself are written to vivify the material culture as visualised in respective plastic representations.

The present study of the Sanchi reliefs is an endeavour to bring out exhaustively and comprehensively the entire wealth of the material culture as delineated in the reliefs. Hitherto, no substantial study has been made on the material culture depicted in Sanchi reliefs except for the work entitled “Sanchi—A Cultural Study” written by my learned friend Dr. Dhavalikar. The present work can, therefore, be said to be a further step in the field.

Sanchi sculptures portray vividly the life scenes of the Buddha, jāataka stories and in executing them, the ancient artists were amazingly meticulous and impeccably depicted the life of the people of the second half of the First Cent. B.C., reflecting intently on the mode of dress, architecture, coiffure personal ornaments, musical instruments, flora and fauna etc. The weapons of war viz., bow and arrow, swords and daggers revealing the high class military life; musical instruments bespeaking the civilized mind and aesthetic outlook of the people and the various gaming material giving the idea of the gay and sportive life and similar other things have all

List of Illustrations

Plates :

1. General view of the Stūpa—I
2. Back of the Eastern gateway
3. Back of the Western gateway
4. Back of the Southern gateway :
(a) Mānushi Buddhas (b) Shadḍanta Jātaka (c) War of the relics
5. Front of the Eastern gateway :
(a) Stūpas and the Bodhi-drumas (b) The Mahābhiniṣhkramaṇa
(c) Aśoka's visit to the Bodhi-tree
6. North Pillar of the Eastern gateway :
(a) The conception scene (b) The Yaksha
7. Pillar of the Eastern gateway with lotus design
8. Pillar of the Eastern gateway with lotus-creeper like design
9. Western Pillar of the Southern gateway :
(a) The first sermon (b) King Aśoka's visit to the Bodhi tree
(c) Indra with his queen Sachi
10. West Pillar of the Southern gateway :
(a) The sambodhi (b) Aśoka's visit to the Bodhi-tree (c) The festival of the Cūda of the Bodhisattva
11. East Pillar of the Northern gateway :
(a) Prasenajit's visit (b) Scene of Paradise
12. East Pillar of the Northern gateway :
(a) The Great Prodigy at Srāvastī (b) Gift of the Jetavana (c) The Great Prodigy at Srāvastī
13. South Pillar of the Western gateway :
(a) Mahā Kapi Jātaka (b) The Adhyeshana (c) Indra's visit

been brought within the compass of the sculptural art. Indubitably, the artist had in his mind the contemporary life and supplemented the data from the jātaka stories.

The present book "*The Material Culture of Sanchi*" attempts to cover the entire sculptural wealth discovered during the exploration and excavations and thus may justifiably claim completeness of the material culture of the period under review. The toranas of Sanchi form the potential source to comprehend the material culture of Sanchi in its entirety. This study of the life of the people in the second half of the First Cent. B.C. tries to bring out the element of the contemporary rich material culture and locate the contemporary plastic parallels and finally tries to corroborate the archaeological data with literary one. This, summarily, may be stated to be the original contribution to this book.

All the illustrations reproduced in this book are by the *Courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India*. The copyright of these photographs rests with the Archaeological Survey of India. For this, I owe my indebtedness to the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

I immensely thank Shri R.Y. Krishna Rao, Stenographer, Archaeological Survey of India, South Eastern Circle, Hyderabad and Km. Devaki Rani for the speedy typing of the manuscript of this book. Sarvashri S.C. Edwin and Sudhir Kumar, Photographers of the Archaeological Survey of India, South Eastern Circle, Hyderabad have prepared the reproductions of the illustrations incorporated in this book. I express my thanks to them. I express my thanks to Mr. Sudhakar Naidu, artist for his neat line drawings of the hair-styles included in this book.

My thanks are due to my publisher, Shri Swadesh Pradesh Singhal, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi for the expeditious and neat execution which he has accomplished in a short time.

Lastly, I should express my thanks to my wife Vijaya for all her help.

DR. K. KRISHNA MURTHY.

List of Illustrations

Plates :

1. General view of the Stūpa—I
2. Back of the Eastern gateway
3. Back of the Western gateway
4. Back of the Southern gateway :
(a) Mānushi Buddhas (b) Shadḍanta Jātaka (c) War of the relics
5. Front of the Eastern gateway :
(a) Stūpas and the Bodhi-drumas (b) The Mahābhiniṣhkramaṇa
(c) Aśoka's visit to the Bodhi-tree
6. North Pillar of the Eastern gateway :
(a) The conception scene (b) The Yaksha
7. Pillar of the Eastern gateway with lotus design
8. Pillar of the Eastern gateway with lotus-creeper like design
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11. East Pillar of the Northern gateway :
(a) Prasenajit's visit (b) Scene of Paradise
12. East Pillar of the Northern gateway :
(a) The Great Prodigy at Srāvastī (b) Gift of the Jetavana (c) The Great Prodigy at Srāvastī
13. South Pillar of the Western gateway :
(a) Mahā Kapi Jātaka (b) The Adhyeshana (c) Indra's visit

14. North Pillar of the Western gateway :
(a) The king in the pleasure garden (b) Couple in dalliance
15. South Pillar of the Eastern gateway :
(a) The conversion of Kaśyapas (b) The Royal visit
16. South Pillar of Eastern gateway : The Sambodhi
17. Northern gateway-east end :
(a) Viśvantara Jātaka (b) Sālabañjikā and other details
18. South Pillar of the Eastern gateway :
Uruvilva Village scene
19. South Pillar of the Eastern gateway :
(a) Miraculous victory over the Nāga (b) Everyday life in the hermitage
20. Yaksha
21. North Pillar of Eastern gateway : Six Devalokas
22. North Pillar of Eastern gateway :
(a) Adhyeshana (b) Conception scene
23. Pillar of the Western gateway :
(a) The Syāma Jātaka (b) Nāgamuchalinda episode
24. Back of the Northern gateway :
(a) The Shaddanta Jātaka (b) The Māra's army (c) The Viśvantara Jātaka
25. West Pillar of the Northern gateway :
(a) Scene of the feast celebrated by the Malla's of Kusinagara
(b) The monkey's offering at Vaiśālī (c) The return to Kapilavastu
26. South Pillar of the Western gateway carved with Vyāla riders
27. South Pillar of the Western gateway : Yaksha
28. Front of Western gateway :
(a) The Sambodhi (b) Bodhi-druma of Vipasyin (c) The Nativity
- 29.. Back of the Eastern gateway :
Bodhi-druma worship, mythical animals and camel riders
30. Back of the Eastern gateway : north end :
(a) Goat riders (b) Sālabañjikā

31. Front of the Western gateway:
(a) Elephant riders (b) Stūpa worship (c) Dwarfs
32. Southern gateway:
(a) The Nativity (b) The Parinirvāna (c) Kumbhanda spouting forth a lotus stalk
33. Back of the Northern gateway: east end:
(a) Viśvantara Jātaka (b) Parinirvāṇa stūpa (c) Sālabhañjikā
34. Front of the Eastern gateway: north end:
(a) Stūpa worship (b) Sambodhi etc.
35. Back of the Western gateway:
(a) The transport of the Relics (b) War of the Relics (c) The Great Miracle of the Sambodhi
36. Northern gateway: Viśvantara Jātaka
37. Back of the Eastern gateway: south end:
(a) Bodhi-druma Worship (b) Kneeling camels
38. Back of the Eastern gateway: south end
39. Back of the Western gateway:
(a) The Royal procession (b) The King in the pleasure garden
(c) The procession of gods
40. Front of the Southern gateway: west end
41. Front of the Eastern gateway
42. Front of the Eastern gateway: south end:
(a) Stūpa worship (b) Elephants tearing mango tree
43. Front of the Western gateway:
The Bodhi-druma worship
44. East Pillar:
(a) Muchalinda episode (b) Lokapālas offering to the Bodhi tree (c) Trapusha and Bhallika passing though Uruvilva
45. Front of the Eastern gateway: Stūpa-1
46. West Pillar of the Northern gateway:
(a) The Great Departure (b) The perfectly accomplished Buddha

47. East Pillar of the Northern gateway:
 - (a) Indra's visit (b) and (c) Ajatasatru's visit
48. Back of the Western gateway: north end:
 - (a) and (b) Royal procession (c) Māra's army
49. Front of the Eastern gateway: south end
50. Front of the Western gateway:
 - (a) Seven Mānushi-Buddhas (b) Dharma-chakra worship
 - (c) Shaddanta Jātaka
51. Back of the Northern gateway
52. Back of the Eastern gateway:
 - (a) The Mānushi-Buddhas (b) The Buddha in solitude (c) The Stūpa of Ramagrama
53. East pillar of the Northern gateway in decorative design

Figures :

- | | | |
|----------|---|--------------------|
| Fig. I | : | Male Hair Styles |
| Fig. II | : | Male Hair Styles |
| Fig. III | : | Female Hair Styles |

Abbreviations

- AI* : Ancient India
ASIAR : Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports
ASR : Archaeological Survey Reports
BD : Book of Discipline
BDCRI : Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute
BV : Bhāratīya Vidya
Cull. : Cullavagga
DhA : Commentary on Dhammapada
Digh. : Digha Nikāya
DN : Digha Nikāya
IAR : Indian Archaeology—A Review
J : Jātaka
JAHRs : Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
JAOS : Journal of the American Oriental Society
JISOA : Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art
JNSI : Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
JOI : Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda
JUPHS : Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society
KA : Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra
Kum. : Kumāra Saṁbhava
M : Mānasāra
Mal : Mālavikāgnimitram
MASI : Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
Meg. : Meghadūta

- MhV* : Mahāvaṃśa
NPP : Nāgari Prachārni Patrikā
PO : Poona Orientalist
QJMS : Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society
Ragh. : Raghuvamśa
Ṛtu. : Ṛtusamhāra
Sak. : Śākuntalam
SBE : Sacred Books of the East
Vin : Vinaya
Vism : Viśuddhimagga

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	vii
<i>List of Illustrations</i>	xi
CHAPTER ONE	
Historical background	1
CHAPTER TWO	
Architecture	12
CHAPTER THREE	
Costume	34
CHAPTER FOUR	
Personal Ornaments	56
CHAPTER FIVE	
Coiffure and Head Dress	99
CHAPTER SIX	
Musical Instruments	118
CHAPTER SEVEN	
Vessels and other House-hold Objects	132
CHAPTER EIGHT	
Furniture	149
CHAPTER NINE	
Conveyances	162
CHAPTER TEN	
Weapons	174
CHAPTER ELEVEN	
Games, Amusements and other Pastimes	198
CHAPTER TWELVE	
Miscellaneous Objects and other Items	205
CHAPTER THIRTEEN	
Royal Insignia	212
CHAPTER FOURTEEN	
Flora and Fauna	221
<i>Epilogue</i>	255
<i>Bibliography</i>	267
<i>Index</i>	286

CHAPTER ONE

Historical Background

I. DISCOVERY

Sanchi (Lat. 23° 29' N and Long. 77° 45' E), the ancient *Saṅghārāma* is situated at a distance of about nine kilometers southwest of Vidisha between Bina and Bhopal junctions of the Central Railway in District Raisen, Madhya Pradesh. Well-known for its magnificent Buddhist edifices—*stūpas*, temples, monasteries and memorial pillars, this site began to attract the attention of the art lovers and archaeologists alike ever since its rediscovery by Gen. Taylor in 1818 when they were in a remarkably good state of preservation. The tremendous wealth of figural and decorative carvings is superb and amazingly varied. "They are" in Marshall's words "the most imposing and the best preserved of all the monuments that early Buddhism has bequeathed to India."¹ Apart from their artistic, religious and iconographic interest the early sculptures at Sanchi are "an almost inexhaustive mine of information in regard to contemporary civilization."²

It was in 1822, that Captain Johnson, Assistant Political Agent in Bhopal opened up *Stūpa-1* (*Pl. I*) from top to bottom, thus leaving a great breach which resulted in the collapse of the West Gateway and a part of the enclosing balustrade. Later, in 1851 Alexander Cunningham and F.C. Maisey excavated *stūpas-2* and 3 and discovered relic caskets from them. They also sank a shaft at the centre of *stūpa-1*. These operations, coupled with the depredation of the villages and the growth of vegetation disintegrated the *stūpas*. Added to this, the pillar

of Aśoka was broken into pieces by a local Zamindar to be utilized as a sugar-cane press.

The question of repairs and preservation was not at all contemplated till 1881 when Major Cole took up the work of repairing the dome of *stūpa*-1, West and South Gateways etc. However, it was Sir John Marshall, Director General of the Archaeology in India, who, between the years 1912 and 1919, brought the monuments to their present condition by undertaking the large-scale clearance of jungle, the conservation of the edifices and also the excavation of some of the sites. A small museum³ was also built to house the loose antiquities found in the course of these operations.

In 1936, Mohammad Hamid excavated the ruins on the hillslope between *stūpas*-1 and 2 and became responsible in disclosing the remnants of a monastery. Since then, though no excavations were undertaken at Sanchi, the monuments have received persistent attention and thus have been saved for posterity.

II. HISTORICAL BACK DROP

(i) *The Early Saṅghārāma*

The ancient name of Sanchi as recorded in the early votive inscriptions was *Kakaṇāva* or *Kākaṇāya*.⁴ The Gupta records of A.D. 412-13 and 450-51, inscribed on the ground balustrade of *Stūpa*-1 refer to it by *Kākanādabota*.⁵ A still later inscription of the 7th Century A.D. mentions it as *Boṭa-Śrīparvata*⁶ which has been identified by Majumdar with the *Śrīparvata* mentioned in Bhavabhūti's *Mālātī Mādhava*.⁷ In the name of *Kanakheda* an adjacent modern village, may be traced the survival of the ancient name.

The genesis, efflorescence and decay of Buddhist art and architecture here covered a period of about thirteen hundred years from the 3rd Century B.C. to the twelfth Century A.D., almost covering the whole of Indian Buddhism. It is rather surprising that Sanchi was not hallowed by any incident in Buddha's life nor is it known to have been

the focus of any significant event in the history of Buddhist monachism. The only possible reference to the Buddhist monuments here is contained in the chronicles⁸ of Sri Lanka, according to which, Mahendra, son of Aśoka and his queen Devi, daughter of a merchant of Vidiśā,⁹ whom Aśoka had married during his halt there on his way to Ujjayini as a Viceroy is said to have visited his mother at Vidiśā and the latter took him up to the beautiful monastery of Vedisagiri built by herself. Mahendra had stayed there for month before he set out for Sri Lanka.

(ii) *Sanchi under the Mouryas and Sungas*

The foundation of the great religious establishment at Sanchi destined to have a glorious career as an important centre of Buddhism for many centuries to come was probably laid by the great Mauryan emperor Aśoka (Circa 273-236 B.C.) when he built a *Stūpa* and erected a monolithic pillar here. The hill top of Sanchi should have served as an ideal place for giving a concrete shape to the newly aroused zeal for Buddhism in the emperor. By its quietude and seclusion ensuring a proper atmosphere for meditation, combined with its proximity to the rich and populous city of Vidiśā, Sanchi fulfilled all the conditions required for an ideal Buddhist monastic life. The prosperity of the Buddhist establishment here was greatly due to the piety of the rich mercantile community of Vidiśā. The nearness of the city, the strategic situation of which at the confluence of two rivers, the Betwa and the Beas as well as on two important trade routes resulted in a great over-flow of wealth was in no small measure responsible for the flourishing condition of Sanchi even when the empire of the Mauryas was a thing of the past.

After a temporary lull following the break up of the Mauryan empire, when the *Stūpa* of Aśoka was damaged¹⁰ the cause of Buddhist establishment of *Kākanāya* was taken up with feverish zeal by the monks and laity. During the 2nd Century B.C., when Sungas were ruling, the stone encasing and the enlargement of the *Stūpa* of Aśoka, the erection of balustrades round its ground berm, stairway and *harmikā*, the reconstruction of temple-40 and the building of *Stūpas*-2 and 3 were all done. The same intense religious aspiration and creative forces

continued unabated in the next century as well, when during the supremacy of the Sātavāhanas, new decorations in the form of elaborately carved gateways were added to *Stūpas*-1 and 3.

(iii) *Sanchi under the Kshatrapas*

During the preceding and succeeding centuries of the Christian Era owing to the political aggrandisement of the Scytho-Parthian and Kushanas over the large part of North India had its repercussions at Sanchi as well, resulting in a slackening of structural activities. The establishment of foreign power in the Malwa region under the Kshatrapas did not provide any incentive for a dormant workshop. Sanchi had to depend upon Mathura for the importation of Buddha images.

After a prolonged period of stagnation and lassitude under the Kshatrapas, there was a revival of sculptural activity during the reign of the Guptas who, after conquering the Kshatrapas (Circa A.D. 400) provided congenial atmosphere for the growth of artistic pursuits. Soon after, the local art of Sanchi once more came to the fore and to this period belonged the four images of Buddha seated under canopies against the berm of *Stūpa*-1 facing the four entrances.

(iv) *Sanchi under the Imperial Guptas*

The Gupta period, which ushered in a new epoch in the history of Indian temple architecture saw at Sanchi as well a resuscitation of structural activity. Temple-17 at Sanchi is thus a telling testimony to the adroitness of the Gupta temple builders.

After the glorious days of the Guptas centrifugal forces became once more rampant. The worst came with the Hun invasion, which resulted in the seizure of a large part of western and central India by that tribe. But that occupation was short lived to be shattered by Yaśodharman's victory over their chief Mihira Kula in the first half of the sixth century.

(v) *Sanchi under Harsha*

On the debris of the Gupta empire rose a number of petty principalities, none of which was powerful enough to bring any large part of India under its aegis till Harshavardhana (A.D. 606-647) achieved some sort of political unity in Northern India. His espousal of the cause of Buddhism brought a fresh lease of life to that religion. The building activity that went on during seventh and eighth centuries at Sanchi reveal a prosperous condition of the Buddhist community at that place. The number of the images of Buddha made during the period was fairly considerable, executed in late Gupta tradition. They however, lack the charm and grace of their proto-types and are almost lifeless and mechanical.

(vi) *Sanchi under the Pratihāras and Paramāras*

After the death of Harsha, north India once more faced political instability. The Pratihāras, who had established themselves in the Malwa region by the eighth century were followed by the Paramāras in the next century. But Sanchi seems to have been hardly affected by these political changes, as the existence of a number of medieval monasteries and temples testifies to a period of continued prosperity.

It is not known how an end came to the Buddhist monuments at Sanchi. No Buddhist monument can be assigned to the thirteenth Century A.D. We do not know if the Buddhists deserted the place gradually, lost their vital forces to maintain their individuality, thus succumbing to the all absorbing force of Brāhmanism, which was one of the potent causes of the extinction of Buddhism in the land of its birth.

III. ARCHITECTURAL GRANDEUR AT ITS BEST

Toraṇas

The glance at the history of the rise and fall of the Buddhism at Sanchi, unmistakably points out to the heydays of Sanchi under the

Sātavāhana rule. Indubitably, the best addition to the Buddhist edifices at Sanchi were made under the Sātavāhana rule. These consist of the elaborate and richly carved gateways ((*toranas*) in the four cardinal directions and are undoubtedly the crowning glory of the *Stūpa*. In the chronological sequence, they can be placed in the following order—Southern, Northern, Eastern (*Pl. 2*) and Western (*Pl. 3*). However, all the *toranas* are almost similar to each other in their construction and design and differ only in their decorative details and it is probable that not more than two or three decades intervened between the building of the four gateways¹¹ for the inscriptions engraved on them show that the right pillar of the Western gateway was donated by the same person as the middle architrave of the southern gateway viz., “Balamitra, the pupil of Arya-chuḍa” and the south pillar of Eastern gateway and the north pillar of the Western gateway were the gifts of Nāgapiya, a banker of Achavada, the native of Kukara.

The best preserved of them all is the Northern gateway. It retains most of its original decorative features giving an adequate idea of the prestine beauty of the gateways.

Each gateway was composed of two square pillars surmounted by capitals which in turn, were crowned by a superstructure of three architraves with volute ends. These pillars and the architraves have been profusely adorned with carved relief. Among them, the important ones, from the point of view of the present study, are the scenes depicting some of the former lives of the Buddha, the scenes from the life of the Gautama Buddha, scenes relating to the Mānushi-Buddhas, as they are helpful in building up a picture of the contemporary life. The mine of information that can be culled out from the depicted *jātakas* like the *Saddanta Jātaka*, the *Mahākapi Jātaka*, the *Vessantara Jātaka*, the *Alambusā Jātaka*, the *Śāma Jātaka*, the life scene of the Gautama Buddha, such as birth, enlightenment, First Sermon, decease (*Parinirvāṇa*), Māyā's dream and conception, four drives, Great Departure, worship of *Cuḍa*, Temptation and assault by Māra, Buddha's Chaṅkama, Trapusha and Bhallika passing through Uruvela, Adhye-shaṇa, visit to Kapilavastu, miracle of Śrāvastī, Sakra's visit, seige of

Kushinagara and transport of relics, *Stūpa* of Ramagrama, Aśoka's visit to the *Bodhi* tree, scenes relating to the Mānushi Buddhas etc., form the data of our study in knowing the material culture of Sanchi.

As regards the period of the gateway, we have to depend on the inscriptional evidence. On the Southern gateway is carved a donative inscription¹² which records the gift of one of its architraves by a certain Ananda, an architect of the Śātavāhana king Sri Śātakarṇi who has been identified with Śātakarṇi-II, who has ruling about the middle of the 1st Century B.C. As already pointed out, no more than two or three decades intervened between the earliest and the last gateways. They can therefore be dated to about 50 to 20 B.C. Thus, it is a work of a generation or so. This is all the more important from the point of view of our study as it can be said with reasonable amount of certainty that the life depicted in the reliefs is of a generation which lived during the third quarter of the 1st Century B.C. It also helps us to study the tastes and fashions of a particular generation. This point can only be realised when we take into consideration the fact that there is no other similar edifice in the country which can be precisely dated to an approximate decade as our chronology is based generally in centuries. Thus, we are on surer chronological grounds so far as the *torāṇas* of Sanchi are concerned.

This particular period i.e. 3rd quarter of the 1st Century B.C., when the emperor Śātakarṇi-II of the Śātavāhana dynasty was ruling over a major part of the country in the Deccan and Central India was considerably a flourishing period in Indian history. The powerful Śātavāhana monarch had then consolidated his position and was the only supreme ruler who had no rivals to that claim. During his period the people enjoyed political peace coupled with economic prosperity. This atmosphere apparently inspired the artistic genius of the people and it is only such an era of affluence, which makes it possible to create such architectural edifices like those at Sanchi. The Sanchi reliefs, therefore, afford us a glimpse of life of the affluent generation which thrived during the third quarter of the 1st Century B.C.

IV. ART OF SANCHI

Inspite of a disparity in the standard of workmanship and treatment due to varying abilities of sculptors, the Sanchi carvings are definitely highly developed and mature, in conception, technique and composition. The artist had by now passed the archaic stage and handled stone with greater ease and confidence. The figures do not suffer from the rigid frontality nor do they seem to be the outcome of pure "mental picture." They are supple and natural to some extent and are shown in diverse postures, their movements somewhat free and unconstrained. The reliefs have matured in depth. Though the artist is yet unable to grapple the problem of three-dimensional depth and perspective, the grouping and balancing of figures are often done in such a way that they create an illusion of depth and distance.

The art impresses greatly by its rhythm, symmetry, decorative beauty and perfect handling of the floral and plant motifs. It is noteworthy that the Buddhists had taken into their service, to an appreciable extent, popular mundane art of the time, adopting many of the old-time fables, popular cults and superstitions with such changes as were necessary for imparting to them the Buddhist complexions. They even admitted flagrantly amorous scenes which do not fit in with Buddha's teachings.

Whether the sculptors of Sanchi made preliminary sketches of their subjects in clay or wax and used these models to guide them in cutting the stone is a moot point. Modelling in clay is one of oldest in Indian crafts and nothing is more likely than that the sculptors would first rough out their ideas in this material. If they did so their models would have been merely sun-dried, not kiln-baked, and it is hardly likely, therefore, that any of them would have survived. Further, there is no evidence to show that the Sanchi sculptor had firstly prepared a sketch on the stone itself as seen in the case of the Nāgārjunakōṇḍa artist.¹³

Further, the Sanchi tradition is derived from an indigenous heritage which according to Ray,¹⁴ unlike the Maurya court art, "is born of India's own seed with deep and intimate ethnic and local

roots." Sanchi in fact be viewed as the emergence of a tradition which had remained submerged or unformulated in stone for centuries. The Sanchi idiom is not specifically derived from the earlier Maurya school, though to an extent it must have been influenced by this sculpture. More correctly, it is a parallel expression which drew its inspiration directly from predominantly popular sources. Sanchi motifs, which are similar to Aśokan or to West Asiatic elements, occur not as adaptations of the former, but rather as equivalent expressions which may be related to a common origin. The fact that the Sanchi expression may be later in date is in accordance with a pattern of cultural diffusion which seems to have been consistent from proto-historic times until the present.¹⁵

The symbolic value which is inherent in the Sanchi motifs lies deeper than the super-imposed Buddhist symbolism with which these elements are also invested. From this viewpoint the Barhut and Sanchi sculptures are not entirely faithful to the austerity of the early Buddhism in whose service they were created. The sculptures are apparently inspired largely in lay folk traditions which incorporated old fertility cults and other ancient formulae. In the words of Coomaraswamy "the art of Sanchi is not as art, created or inspired by Buddhism, but is early Indian art adapted to edifying ends and therewith retaining its own intrinsic qualities. A pure Buddhist content is far more apparent in the early architecture and especially in the undecorated hemispherical *Stūpa* and in the excavated *caitya*-halls"

V. PREMISE OF THE MATERIAL STUDY

The following study is based on the hypothesis that the Sanchi sculptors while depicting the *Jātaka* stories in the reliefs, had their mind on the contemporary persons and the things around them. Although, they provided the figures and the background in accordance with the requirements of the texts, in carving the *Jātaka* stories on stone, the artists were conscious of their limitations. They had to work within certain limits showing for the most part, only what the

stories required. However, the artists have taken that much liberty as would not come into conflict with the general trend of the text. It is just possible that they replenished the exact parallels with those occurring in the *Jātaka* from amongst their society and environment. Thus, many of the items found in the reliefs may have been indigenous to the land of which Sanchi and its surrounding region formed part.

Art correctly interpreted, is the faithful expression of the particular social taste, ideas and character. It preserves for us the reflections of the spirit and the manners of the people who created it. The true history of a country cannot therefore be merely the chronological narration of political events but it also must deal with its physiognomy and the innermost character of its past and present generations. Consequently, the historian is required to inquire into the various aspects of any contemporary life such as, the way of life, pastimes, private and public occupations and the type of dresses—in fact regarding all aspects which compose a particular culture.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to describe in this direction, the life of the people during the 3rd quarter of the 1st Century B.C. under the Sātavāhana rule as depicted in the Sanchi reliefs this is done in order to bring out facets of some contemporary material culture. An endeavour has also been made to locate contemporary material culture with the literary descriptions and finally to confirm their material culture from the archaeological evidence.

REFERENCE

1. Sir John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, 1940, Vol. I, p. i.
2. *Ibid.*, p. ii.
3. As this museum building was inadequate for the display of sculptures according to the requirements of a museum, a new building has been constructed some years back for the purpose at the foot of the hill (Debala Mitra, *Sanchi*, New Delhi, 1978, p. 12, footnote-2).
4. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, Inscription nos. 7, 176, 394, 396, and 404.
5. *Ibid.*, Inscription nos. 833 and 834.

6. *Ibid.*, Inscription No. 842.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
8. *The Mahāvamsa*, ed., W. Geiger (Pali Text Society, London, 1908), pp. 100-01; also the *Dīpavamsa*, ed. and tr., H. Oldenberg, (London, 1879), pp. 42, 63, 147 and 168-170.
9. Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa or Vidisha) was the capital of ancient Ākara (eastern Malwa). Several groups of Buddhist monuments sprang up within 20 kilometres of this place, eg., at Sanchi, Andher, Sonari, Satdhara and Pipaliya (Bhojpur).
10. It was said to have been mutilated by Pushyamitra Śuṅga (Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 18).
11. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 36ff. Marshall has discussed at length the comparative chronology of the four gateways.
12. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 177.
13. K. Krishna Murthy, *Nāgārjunakonda—A Cultural Study*, (Delhi, 1977), p. 14 and pl. I.
14. Niharanjan Ray, *Maurya and Śuṅga Art*, 1945, p. 73.
15. Irene N. Gajjar, *Ancient Indian Art and the West*, (Bombay, 1971), p. 132.

CHAPTER TWO

Architecture

The master-artists of the Sanchi reliefs have depicted a variety of architectural details which includes almost everything from a humble hut to a magnificent palace. They give fair idea of the secular structures of those times. The representations of the religious structures are rather few as compared to the secular ones. However, the available material is adequate to construe them in greater detail.

I. REGAL BUILDINGS

(i) *Fortifications*

Moat (Parikhā):—The ancient Indian city (*nagara*) is often described as fortified by rampart walls (*prākāra*) with a deep moat (*parikhā*) all around it. Each city in which the royal residence was situated was surrounded by an outer wall having four gates on four sides.¹ It is interesting to note that some of the Sanchi reliefs represent city rampart walls with moats. Moat is usually referred to as *parikhā* and the *Milindapañha* informs us that architects after planning the city, started their work with the moat.² In the reliefs, the moat is represented more than once. In the panel³ illustrating “the war of Relics” (*Pl. 4c*), is the besieged city of Kushinagara is represented. By the side of the rampart wall is a moat or ditch in which is seen a line of lotuses in the middle of the foreground, marking the moat in which some soldiers are seen standing (*Pl. 4c*). In another panel⁴ revealing the scene of “the Great Departure” (*Pl. 5b*) is represented again, a

Architecture

moat of the city, Kapilavastu. Women from the city are shown going down to the moat to fetch water and there is access on the city side through a little gate. The moat of the city, Kapilavastu again gets portrayed in the panel⁵ revealing "the conception scene" (*Pl. 6a*). The lotuses in the moat are clearly sculptured.

6985
Rampart walls (Prākāra[s]):—The Sanchi reliefs offer an interesting variety of ancient rampart walls. Almost every city that is represented in the reliefs is shown with a rampart wall. Apparently, the rampart wall played a vital role from the point of view of defence in the ancient town planning. There is an excellent representation of a rampart wall in the panel⁶ illustrating "the war of Relics". Immediately, behind, the moat and all along with it runs the rampart wall probably, of stone or brick masonry (*Pl. 4c*). The rampart wall is constructed of large-sized bricks or dressed stones and is shown with re-entrant angles. In yet another panel⁷ revealing "the Viśvantara jātaka" (*Pl. 36*), the capital city of Sibbis is shown with battlemented or merloned rampart. Behind the rampart, the heir-apparent riding his elephant is meeting a brāhmin anchorite. Precisely similar rampart wall with merlons is again seen represented in the panel⁸ revealing "the Rīṣhyśringa jātaka."

However, an interesting rampart is illustrated in the panel⁹ revealing the "Great Departure." The rampart wall is evidently a wooden wall of palisade construction (*Pl. 5b*). Coomaraswamy rightly infers that it is a mud wall reinforced by a wooden palisade similar to that at Pataliputra.¹⁰

That the rampart walls were finished off at the top by coping can be known from the panel illustrating the "conception scene" (*Pl. 6a*).

Rampart walls have been found at many excavated sites and it appears from their remains that they were broad and considerably high as is evident at Koshambi.¹¹ The one that is available at the modern village Dharanikota, the ancient capital of Śātavāhanas is a mud rampart.

(ii) *City gates and gate houses with towers*

The literary descriptions attest that ancient cities were provided with a number of gateways and some big cities are said to have had hundreds of them.¹² The gateways appear to be of two types, namely; (a) the *torana* and (b) the *gopura*. The *torana* was an ornamental gateway without a door. It was probably an outer entrance and has been explained as *bahirdvāra*.¹³ The *gopura* was a city gateway.¹⁴ The city gate was also known as *dvāragopura* in the *jātakas*.¹⁵ However, there is an elaborate description of the gateway in the *Arthaśāstra* which is also met with in the early Pali texts and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

(a) *Toraṇas*

The *torana*s depicted in the reliefs are simple as compared to the lofty *gopuras* or city gates. In the panel¹⁶ illustrating “the *Mahā-bhinishkramaṇa*”, a *torana* is depicted. It is a simple *torana* with two lintels, arched and curled to the form of volutes at both ends. A different type of *torana* is met with in the panel¹⁷ illustrating “Indra’s procession.” Indra with his queen Sachi, riding on *Irāvata* is shown passing through a *torana*. It comprises of two pillars surmounted by a single lintel having voluted terminals (*Pl. 9c*). This *torana* differs from the above one in having one lintel instead of the two.

The best representation of *torana*s, however, we get in the panel¹⁸ revealing “the Great Departure” (*Pl. 5b*). They comprised of two pillars surmounted by a lintel having volutes as terminals.

The *torana* illustrated in the panel revealing “the *Mahākapi jātaka*” is the simplest and consists of two pillars probably of wooden with a cross-beam mounting (*Pl. 13a*).

(b) *Gopuras*

In the panel¹⁹ depicting “the war of relics” is represented in the centre a massive, impressive gateway (*Pl. 4c*), which is also being defended by soldiers. It is an imposing structure with projecting balconies (*ālindas*) at the top having vaulted roof. The projecting sides of the roofs are carved with *chaitya* windows (*kapotapālikas*). In the balcony

Architecture

are seen some persons possibly soldiers. In the same panel, on the extreme right, can be noticed another gateway which is shown guarded by the soldiers. Evidently, these gateways must have been provided with a pair of door leaves (*kavāṭas*). The representations of two gateways in close proximity to each other is suggestive of the fact that a big city was provided with more than four gates as was usually the case. Megasthenese informs that Pataliputra, the imperial capital of the Mauryas, had sixty-four gates.²⁰

A picturesque city gate is illustrated in the panel²¹ depicting “*the Viśvantara jāta*ka” (Pl. 36). Prince Viśvantara with his wife Mādri and children followed by the retinue is shown coming out of the city gate. One can see a *prāsādika* virtually emerging out of the city gate.

The panel²² representing “Prasenajit’s visit” (Pl. 11a), offers a clear picture of a city gate where the king of Kośala, Prasenajit along with his retinue is shown coming out of Śrāvastī city gate. That the city gates were sufficiently broad to accommodate the royal processions which included chariots, elephants etc., and foot soldiers can be known from the panel²³ depicting “the episode of conception” (Pl. 6a). Similarly, the broad city gateway of Kushinagara can be seen in the panel²⁴ depicting “the war of relics” (Pl. 35b).

(c) Gate houses with towers

The gate house (*dvāra-koṭṭhaka*, *dalha gopura*, *dalham-aṭṭāla-koṭṭha*, *dalha-gopura aṭṭāla-koṭṭha* with its high towers (*dvāra-aṭṭālaka*, *gopura-aṭṭālaka*) was usually situated at some distance from the actual palace.²⁵

A clear depiction of a gate house (*dvāra-koṭṭhaka*) can be seen in the panel depicting “the war of relics”. The gate house has a flat roof with battlements. The gate house with projecting balconies are common at Sanchi and elsewhere as well in early Indian art. But one with flat roof is of rare occurrence and hence the present specimen is of significance.

In the same panel, to the left, a gate house can again be seen over an entrance. In this case, the gate house has a barrel-vaulted roof supported by pilasters. The *chaitya* windows in the roof are clearly visible. The best illustration of the gate house is, however, represented in the panel²⁶ illustrating “the Viśvantara jātaka” (Pl. 36). The gate house has barrel-vaulted roof supported by pilasters. The gate house is very massive and imposing.

That the gate houses had at times, two storeys can be known from the panel²⁷ revealing “the Viśvantara jātaka.” The two storeyed (*dvi-bhūmika*) gate house (*dvāra-koṭṭhaka*) has a barrel-vaulted roof with *chaitya* windows.

Again, in the panel²⁸ depicting the “war of relics”, an octagonal tower (*aṭṭāḷaka*) is represented. The tower is quite high and is provided from outside with a flight of steps (*sopānas*) for going up. Rectangular windows are also seen in its walls. The whole structure is crowned by huge stepped merlons (Pl. 4c), and some soldiers are seen standing on it for defending the city. It is noteworthy that the method of defence consisted not only in shooting arrows but also of throwing down huge blocks of stone and boulders from the tower on the assailants. A *jātaka* story informs, readily, of an incident that when the men in the moat were trying to destroy the rampart wall of a city, the men in the tower (*antarāṭṭālesu*) created havoc with arrows, javelins, spears etc.²⁹

A defence tower is referred to as *aṭṭāla* or *aṭṭāḷaka* and a *jātaka*³⁰ mentions of such a defence tower which is located near a rampart wall as seen in the Sanchi reliefs.

(iii) Palaces and other buildings

The Sanskrit word, *prāsāda* (Pali, *pāsāda*, Prākṛit, *Pāsāya*) generally, denotes palace—a pretentious mansion especially of several storeys.³¹ When such a *prāsāda* is used by a king, it is called *nivesa-pāsāda*, *rāja-bhavana*, *rāja-geha*, *rāja-nevesana*, *raññonivesa*, *antepura*³² etc. More often than not, the terms referred to above seem to imply a group of buildings all enclosed by an outer wall (*prākāra*). But

the word *antepura*, which is also synonymous with *pāsāda*, stands to mean a single building.³³

The Sanchi reliefs represent a few palaces and palace interiors which furnish information regarding the dwelling places of the kings and other royal personages. These palace buildings must have been built on the solid foundation or basement (*vatthu*)³⁴ and either on the ground or on the basement stood the pillars (*thāmbas*) of the lower palace. In a *pāsāda*, the pillar (*thāmba*) is strong support to the rest of the construction.³⁵ For, as Prof. Guilt, an authority on architecture, remarks that "the column in a building is the regulator of the whole composition. The proper understanding and application of it constitute the foundation of all excellence in art."³⁶ In the art of building conception, the pillar seems to be older than the dwelling itself.

9985
In a *pāsāda*, the ground floor (*āditala*) appears to have had a number of pillars (*thūṇa*, *thāmba*, skr. *stūṇa*, *sthāmbha*), their number varied with the magnificence of the structure and the number of storeys to be supported. The Sanchi reliefs readily reveal palace buildings raised on the pillars.³⁷ Thus, the panel³⁸ revealing "Prasenajit's visit" illustrates clearly a *ti-bhūmika pāsāda*. The well-cut octagonal columns (*aṭṭhāmbas suktā thāmbas*) of the ground floor (*āditala*) are clearly shown supporting the upper storey (*Pl. 11a*). An interesting feature of this structure is that it has a room on the extreme left on the *dvi-tala*. The room has a flat roof with a window provided in the wall. The pyramidal merlons along the margin of the roof add to that beauty of the room.

Again, in the panel³⁹ revealing "the Great Departure", is illustrated a *ti-bhūmika pāsāda* which is raised over the pillars. The pillars can be made out clearly from the illustration. However, the best example of a palace building raised over pillars can be seen in the panel⁴⁰ illustrating "the Royal visit." A *dvi-bhūmika* raised over pillars is clearly sculptured.

The pillars that supported the upper storey generally comprise polygonal shafts with a base and a capital. The base and capital are of two portions; one bulbous with circular section and the other stepped

with square section. The pillars were generally octogonal columns and sometimes Indo-Persian columns were also used as seen in the panels⁴¹ revealing "king's procession" and "Six Devalokas" (*Pls. 10b & 21*). The *jātakas* too refer to well-cut octogonal columns profusely. Speaking about the pillars Fergusson remarks, "whatever their distinction, they were always the most original and frequently the most elegant projections of Indian art."

As regards the number of storeys that a palace building contained, the Sanchi reliefs offer ample information. In literature, palaces with many storeys (*bhūmika*, *tala*, *niyyūha*) are referred to profusely starting from *eka-bhūmika*, *dvi-bhūmika*, *ti-bhūmika* and so on upto *nava-bhūmika*.⁴² The *Mahāvamśa*⁴³ speaks of a mansion with innumerable storeys (*aneka-bhūmi*). A mansion of three storeys was perhaps most usual and this fact is very well borne out in Sanchi sculptural representations. The main floor is often referred to as the *Mahā-tala*,⁴⁴ sometimes as the best floor (*vara-tala*).⁴⁵ This main floor was always an upper, perhaps always a top floor (*ākāsa-tala*). The terms like *ādī-tala* (ground floor), *ardha-tala* (mezzanine floor) and *trī-tala* (third floor) are mentioned in the literature⁴⁶ and interestingly all these get portrayal in Sanchi relief.

However, the palace can be divided into two parts—the *hetṭha pāsāda* (lower palace) and the *upari-pāsāda* (upper palace) approachable by means of stairs.⁴⁷ The *Dighanikāya*⁴⁸ mentions that the court halls were close to the door of the palace on the ground floor within the reach of the public and affording easy accessibility. The upper palace (*upari-pāsāda*) contained living apartments such as king's private chamber (*siri-gabbha*) or harems (*antepuras*).⁴⁹

The number of the storeys of the palace represented in the Sanchi reliefs are varied and includes *dvi-bhūmika*, *ti-bhūmika* and *catu-bhūmika*. Of these, *ti-bhūmika* is very often represented indicating thereby, its popularity in the construction of the multistoreyed buildings.

In the panel⁵⁰ revealing the scene of *jalakridā*, a *dvi-bhūmika* is illustrated (*Pl. 40*). The terraced balcony has a high berm railing. The

prāsādikas are shown observing from the balcony the *jalakridā* of the royalty, in the part. A *dvi-bhūmika* again gets portrayal in the panel⁵¹ illustrating the "Great Departure." The balcony (*ālinda*) here has berm railing and barrel-vaulted roof. This *geha* is shown situated within a palisade city enclosure wall (*Pl. 5b*).

There is an excellent representation of the *prāsāda* of the king Suddhodana in the panel⁵² revealing "conception scene" (*Pl. 6a*). The structure reveals a *ti-bhūmika*. The Queen Maya is shown sleeping on a *dvi-tala* sheltered by the *osaraka* of the third storey. Evidently, the queen is sleeping over a *siri-sayana* (royal couch) in a *siri-gabba*. The *ālinda* in which she is sleeping being open to public view. In all probability, it could have been screened by movable curtains (*samsarāna* or *ugghatanakṛitika*). The balcony has berm railing. To the left of the queen *Mayā*'s head on the same *tala* is a defensive tower, perhaps a treasury. This chamber has a latticed window (*jālā-vātapāna*). It has a flat roof decorated by pyramidal merlons along the margin. The roll moulding running on all sides of the chamber is supported by brackets springing from the walls. A *kūtagāra* is seen on the top floor or *ākāsa-tala*, with a peacock perched on the *vedikā*. In the same panel, to the down right *ti-bhūmika* is again represented. However, the ground floor (*ādi-tala*) is not seen and has to be conjectured only. The upper storey, top floor, *ākāsa-tala* has an open balcony with berm railing. The one below it is not recessed as there is no *ālinda* provided to this *tala*. The pilasters of the window are clearly seen.

In the panel⁵³ depicting "the king in the pleasure garden", reveals a clear example of a *ti-bhūmika pāsāda* (*Pl. 39b*). All the *talas* have berm railing and the *prāsādikas* are shown watching the proceeding in the pleasure garden from the *antepurikā*. Literary references to the presence of such women collectively as *antepurikā*, (the *nāri-varaṇa*) are not uncommon.⁵⁴ The apartment in each *tala* is seen set back from the *vedikā*-parapet so as to provide an exterior terrace, deck or balcony (*ālinda*).⁵⁵ Thus, it can be seen clearly in the representation each successive storey of the *pāsāda* is smaller in superficial area than the one below it.

A *ti-bhūmika* is represented on the Northern gateway⁵⁶ (Pl. 46a). On the *dvi-tala ālinda*, the king is shown in the company of the *prāsā-dika* watching the scene of the "Four Drives." Apparently, the king is shown in his chamber *siri-gabba* attended by his female attendants. The berm railings provided to *dvi* and *ti talas* can be seen clearly.

An elaborate *ti-bhūmika* is represented on the western gate way.⁵⁷ This *ti-bhūmika pāsāda* with *kūtāgāra* above, offers an interesting study. The second floor is so planned as to leave an ample balcony space between the side and rear structure. Two women standing or seated here lean on a cloth hung over the *vedikā*.

A different type of *pāsāda* is again met on the eastern gateway.⁵⁸ A *ti-bhūmika pāsāda* of Brahma is perhaps represented here. A court or floor space is enclosed by two sides and rear structure forming a *tri-śālaka* house.

Again, in the panel⁵⁹ depicting the "Six Kāmāvacaraka Deva-lokas", each *devaloka* is represented by the storey of a palace, the front of which is divided by pillars into three bays. However, the trees at the back of each scene also suggest that these are verandahs of garden pavillions, rather than successive storeys of one *pāsāda*. Above, immediately, below the *vedikā* abacus is *Brahmaloka*, represented by the palace of Brahma.

In one instance, a *catu-bhūmika* gets represented. The panel⁶⁰ representing "the Royal visit", illustrates one such *catu-bhūmika*. In this, the berm railing of the *talas* are clearly visible (Pl. 15b). The lowest storey of a four-storeyed *pāsāda* is called the *hettima-tala*.⁶¹

(iv) Elephant stable (*gaja-śālā*)

There is a solitary representation of what appears like an elephant stable in the reliefs.⁶² In this panel, an elephant with its rider, *mahut* (*hastipaka*) is shown coming out of a stable which is a tiled (*giñjaka*) building. A triangular opening is made in the roof to increase the height and to allow the riders to pass through.

In literature, we get references to elephant stables in the *kāvyas* of Kālidāsa.⁶³ It is informed that the stables contained posts to which

they were tied.⁶⁴ Bāṇa⁶⁵ records that elephant stables were situated inside Harṣa's palace, just by the side of the great hall or court. The stables (*ibhadhiṣāgāra*) were provided with a special pavillion (*avasthāna-maṇḍapa*) for Harṣa's favourite elephant, Varanendra.

II. DWELLINGS OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

Poor people in the villages and anchorites used to live in humble huts as is the case even today. There are a few excellent illustrations of huts which are described below.

The panel⁶⁶ depicting "the village of Uruvilva" (*Pl. 18*), illustrates two types of huts, namely, huts resembling *śāla* with rectangular ground plan with barrel roof and finials and huts of circular plan with hemi-spherical or dome-shaped roof with finials. Three huts are represented in the panel of which two are of rectangular ground plan while the third one is having a circular ground plan. Before these huts, village women are shown engaged in their house-hold tasks such as winnowing of rice, pounding the grains with a pestle, grinding caripowder on a stool-quern with a muller, preparing bread or cake on a legged-quern etc.

The hut with rectangular ground plan and barrel roof and pinnacles over the roof resemble the *śāla* type of humble dwelling represented in the Amarāvati sculptures.⁶⁷ Sivaramamurti rightly presumes that some of the *kūtāgāras*⁶⁸ may have had similar form with the addition of the horse-shoe windows and finials and hence huts are designated in literature as *kuṭīs*. In the present case the hut has no door. Presumably, it was a detachable type and used only when necessary. Similar door types exist to this day among the primitive tribes like the Chenchus and the Lambadis inhabiting the Krishna valley.⁶⁹ The hut walls appear to be of plastered mud mortar. In the *Cullavagga* (VI. 3) and in other Vinaya texts (3. 170-172) we do get references to similar walls that were white-washed.

Similarly, the hut with circular ground plan is having domical roof with a finial on the top. This hut has also no door as seen in the

case of the huts of rectangular ground plan. The walls of the hut appear to be of plastered mud mortar.

Again, the panel⁷⁰ depicting “the Viśvantara jātaka”, reveals a village of hunters wherein huts have been depicted. They are having circular ground plan with a domical roof. The roof is further crowned with a finial (*Pl. 17a*). The huts have no door, the feature which appears very common for a Sanchi artist in depicting a hut.

However, the best representation of a hut is seen in the panel⁷¹ elsewhere representing “Viśvantara jātaka.” Two huts (*Pl. 24c*) here get their portrayal. Mādrī and Prince Viśvantara in anchorite dress are shown involved in a conversation sitting in front of one of the huts. The huts are circular on plan and have dome shaped roofs which in turn crowned with pinnacle. The roofs possibly made of thatched bamboo with the exterior covered with leaves (probably palm) which explains its appellation *parṇa kuṭi* and is invariably referred to as *parṇa-śālā* or *uṭaja*.⁷² Such huts occur very frequently in the early art of Amarāvati,⁷³ Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,⁷⁴ Goli,⁷⁵ Mathura,⁷⁶ and Gandhāra⁷⁷. However, in the present case also no doors are to be found.

It is in the panel⁷⁸ depicting “the victory over Nāga”, there is a realistic illustration of a *parṇa śālā*. An anchorite is shown sitting in front of it. The hut (*Pl. 19a*) has a circular ground plan with a domical roof which in turn crowned by a finial. The roof is apparently, made of a thatched bamboo and its exterior is covered with palm leaves. The walls probably, were of split bamboos pleated horizontally and vertically and then seemed to have plastered with mud mortar.

In one panel⁷⁹ representing the “Gift of the Jetavana”, three favourite residences of the Buddha, namely, *Gandha kuṭi*, *Kosamba kuṭi*, and *Karori kuṭi*. In front of each *kuṭi* (hut) the fact that the Master sojourned there is indicated by the presence of his throne. Of the three *kuṭis* represented here, two are having rectangular ground plan with a vaulted roof. The roof has *chaitya* window projections in addition to the finials (*Pl. 12b*). The third one has a circular ground plan with a domical roof. The final crowning is prominent (*Pl. 12b*).

As can be seen, the humble dwellings illustrated in the reliefs are of single cells. Invariably, the *jātakas* mention single cells made of leaves and *kuśa* (grass). From these representations, it can be inferred that the common residence of the villagers consisted of a wattle and daub hut. Its roof was made of thatch and its walls were either of tree branches or grass.

III. ARCHITECTURAL PECULIARITIES

(i) Roofs

The roofs of the buildings, both secular and religious represented in the sculptures are varied and interesting. The Sanchi reliefs offer three types of roofs, namely, domical, vaulted and flat. The fine examples of the dome-roofed buildings occur in the reliefs representing the *jātaka* stories like Rīṣhya Sringa *jātaka*,⁸⁰ Viśvantara *jātaka*⁸¹ and the village scenes.⁸² However, there is only one instance where a mansion is having a domed roof. Thus, the panel⁸³ illustrating the "war of relics" reveals a building within the city wall with a domed roof (*Pl. 35b*). Save this no regal building in the whole range of relief is shown to have the domed roof.

The building with vaulted roofs are depicted frequently in the reliefs. Panels revealing "*Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*",⁸⁴ "conception scene"⁸⁵ etc., (*Pls. 5b & 6a*) and almost all the gate houses depicted in the reliefs contain vaulted roofs. Besides, the panels depicting "Gift of Jetavana"⁸⁶ (*Pl. 12b*) and the "village of Uruvilva"⁸⁷ (*Pl. 18*) illustrate *kuṭis* with vaulted roofs. As for the flat roofed building some of the *dvi* and *ti-bhūmika prāsādas*⁸⁸ depicted in the relief contain them.

Of these, vaulted and flat roofs are depicted frequently in the sculptures and as for the domical roofs, it did not seem to have been favoured most in the construction of regal building as is evident from their scarce representation. The style of the roof follows the necessities of the plan of the structure; in case of a building with a circular ground plan, evidently, the domical roof is provided; while

buildings with rectangular or oblong ground plan possess vaulted roofs. In all probability, domical roofs were constructed over smaller rooms and halls, while vaulted roofs capped the larger ones in a palace complex.

The humbler dwellings of the poor had dome roof. In the case of leaf hut (*parṇa-śālā*) as seen in the panel depicting village scenes⁸⁹ and the scene of the life in the hermitage⁹⁰ palm tree leaves seem to be the most commonly used roofing material. These were worked in patterns on bamboo and reed frame works, which is the usual technique employed in such cases.

The doom roofs were supported by uprights or straight pillars (*upamit*), probably of wood. The barrel or vaulted roofs with sloping sides, (*Vallabhi*), in all probability, appear to have been supported by curved rafters (*gopānasi*). In the case of flat roofs (*praśtara*) they seem to have been supported by uprights or straight beams.

All roofs, whether barrel shaped, vaulted, domical or flat were possibly supported on a bamboo or wood frame placed on the cross-beams (*parimits*), the method which is generally, applied for such a type of roofing. Invariably, the roofs of the humble dwellings, depicted in the Sanchi sculptures are provided with decorative finials.

We have also representation of tiles (*giñjaka*) as a roofing material in the reliefs.⁹¹ Quite good number of tiles are reported to have been recovered from the excavation of many ancient sites.⁹² They are in general rectangular in shape. They have round holes and, at times, two longitudinal deep grooves along the body. They were probably, used for constructing steeple-like sloping roofs. The tiles are slightly convex, perhaps to facilitate the rain water to pass through the grooves rapidly without stagnation.

(ii) Windows

(a) *Vatapana resembling cetiyaghara* :—The horse-shoe windows depicted in the Sanchi reliefs are true *chaitya* windows and not *kapotapālikas*—ornamental members. Long afterwards, these horse-shoe windows were completely reduced to ornamentation and human

heads were carved within them as at Mahabalipuram and in other early Pallava temples. The mode of representing complete human figures in such *kudus* can be seen in some of the sculptures from Amaravati.⁹³ This tradition lingered on even in early Cola period.

In the Sanchi reliefs, the *chaitya* windows are generally seen over the gate houses (*dvara-kotthakas*) and pasadas. The panels revealing the "war of relics"⁹⁴ (Pl. 4c) the "Vessantara jataka,"⁹⁵ (Pl. 36) "Prasenajit's visit,"⁹⁶ (Pl. 11a) "the Four Drives,"⁹⁷ (Pl. 46a) "the Royal visit"⁹⁸ (Pl. 15b) etc., illustrate the gate-house with the *chaitya* window projections in the roof. Similarly, some of the *pāsādas* and the *gehas* depicted in the panels revealing the "Six Devalokas,"⁹⁹ "the conception scene,"¹⁰⁰ "the king in the pleasure gardens,"¹⁰¹ "the royal visit,"¹⁰² "the war of relics"¹⁰³ etc., also illustrate *chaitya* windows as roof decorations. Besides these, some of the *kutis*, represented in the panel revealing the "gift of Jetavana"¹⁰⁴ are shown having *chaitya* window projections. These *vātapānas* showing beam ends within the arch and architectural front resembling the facade of a *cetiya-ghara* appeared to have been favoured most during the Satavahana period.

(b) *Rectangular window* : In the panel¹⁰⁵ revealing "the war of relics", the gate house (*dvāra-kotṭhaka*) and tower (*dvāra-aṭṭālaka*) of the city Kushinagara are shown with rectangular windows provided in the walls.

(c) *Latticed window* : In the panel¹⁰⁶ revealing "the conception scene" a rectangular structure near the *sayya-gāra* of the queen Māyā is shown with a latticed window in its wall. Such latticed windows are mentioned in the *Cullavagga* as *Jāla Vātapānas*.¹⁰⁷

IV. RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES

It is well-known that the artistic efforts, especially in the early Buddhistic period owed their origin to the growth of Buddhism. The religious character, so deeply rooted in the national life of the Indians, continued to be the guiding force in their art through the ages. These sculptures, influenced by the religious tendencies and destined

to serve religious purposes, could only portray non-secular representations. In this respect the art and architecture of Sanchi cannot be an exception.

It is also known that in the early phase of Buddhism in India we do not generally come across the representation of the Buddha in anthropomorphic form. Only scenes from Buddha's life and stories of his previous birth of *jātakas* are represented. It is why at Sanchi nowhere the image of the Buddha occurs. The religious establishments at Sanchi belonged to the Hinayāna sect and the Buddha image was yet to be fashioned.

(i) *Stūpas*

Several reliefs depict the *stūpa* complex. The distinctive features of the *stūpa*¹⁰⁸ architecture depicted in the sculptures go well in conformity with the religious texts like the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Mahāvamsā*¹⁰⁹ etc., and these give detailed account of the *stūpa* and its construction. The drum (*vedikā*), the dome (*aṇḍa*) surmounting the *vedikā*, the *harmikā*, the *chattra*, the circumambulatory path (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*) and the railings consisting of uprights (*ūrdhva-paṭṭas*) and cross-bars (*sūci*) standing on the tenons, all of the *stūpa* have been impeccably portrayed in the reliefs. The magnificent *toranas* on the four cardinal points add majesty to the *stūpas* of Sanchi. However, an excellent depiction of the *stūpa* with all its components occurs on the Eastern gateway¹¹⁰ (Pl. 42a). All its components, namely, the drum, the dome, the *harmikā*, the *chattra*, the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* and the railing are realistically sculptured. The *aṇḍa* is shown further embellished with floral design.

(ii) *Shrines*

In the panel¹¹¹ revealing "Māra's army," (Pl. 24b) a shrine of the *Bodhi* tree (*Bodhi-ghara*) is depicted. It is enclosed within four compact walls and the entrance is provided through a gateway (*torana*), very similar in conception to the Sanchi *toranas*, but has only a single curved cross-bar with volute ends.

Yet another shrine¹¹² contains the *dharmacakra* crowned by a *chhattra*. The structure is supported by massive octogonal pillar with bell-shaped capitals which in turn are crowned by animal riders reminding one of those at Karla.¹¹³ The roof is flat and has pyramidal merlons along the margin which bespeak of the borrowal of this motif from the Persian.

Again, a *bodhi ghara* gets its depiction on the Southern gateway¹¹⁴ (Pl. 10a). According to Coomaraswamy the shrine is circular on plan. The octogonal pillars have *ghaṭa* bases alternately. The gallery chamber has possibly twelve arched or domer windows, arranged in the groups of three. The temple enshrines a *bodhi* tree in the centre adorned with streamers and topped with a double garlanded umbrella. The roof is crowned by pinnacles.

An interesting *bodhi-ghara* is represented in the panel¹¹⁵ revealing “*Bodhi-druma*” worship (Pl. 16). The shrine is crowned by huge arched windows. An over hanging eve runs round the whole structure and is supported by the brackets of the pillars which are octogonal. Within the structure a *tri-ratna* is installed on a pedestal while a huge *bodhi* tree stands in the centre thus pointing to the shrine being open to the sky.

Again, in the panel illustrating “the victory over Nāga” a *bodhi-ghara* enshrining Nāga is depicted. The temple Cupola raised on pillars is very imposing. Somewhat a parallel example can be seen in the quadrangular terracotta structure of the Sātavāhana period recovered from Nivasa.¹¹⁶

A fire temple gets its depiction in the panel¹¹⁷ revealing “*R̥ṣhyasṅga jātaka*.” The temple is circular on ground plan and is raised over the pillars. The domical roof crowned with pinnacle is quite prominent.

However, the most elaborate *bodhi-ghara* is the multi-storeyed structure which according to Coomaraswami is apsidal on plan.¹¹⁸ The ground floor (*ādi-tala*) has hexagonal pillars, six of which are clearly seen. The first floor has a row of beautiful *chaitya* windows while the second floor appears to be a plain pillared hall with a balcony in the

front having berm railing. The uppermost gallery chamber has a huge *chaitya* window at each end and in the centre is a *bodhi* tree.

The *vrkṣha caityas* are depicted frequently in the reliefs.¹¹⁹ They are with a platform (*vedikā*). In representing the Buddha in the form of an empty throne under a *bodhi* tree, the emphasis is always on the tree.

V. MATERIALS AND MASONRY

In construction of the many-storeyed *pāsādas* the materials chiefly employed was in the first place timber, used in any case for the roofs and windows, the stairs, floors and in most cases for the supporting pillars, bricks, sometimes used for walls, which however seen often to have been made of wood lattice when not required to support any weight and stone, in rare instances for pillars of the ground floor and facing of the basement.

The Vindhya sand stone appears to be a lavishly used building material. Most of it was quarried¹²⁰ in the hill of Sanchi itself. This local variety is of greyish purple or greyish brown colour, very brittle and difficult to chisel, but easy to hammer-dress. It was employed by the builders for the roughers sort of masonry, notably for the *bodhis* and berms of *stūpas* as well as for the foundations, plinths, paving slabs and walls of most of monasteries. A second variety, which was quarried in the neighbouring hill of Nagouri, is of softer texture and of grey white, slightly buff or pinkish hue. This stone was mainly used for the balustrades of three major *stūpas*. A third and a still finer variety of white or grey white sand stone came from the Udayagiri hill some 10 kilometers from Sanchi and was used in the early period for the gateways of *stūpa*-1 and 3.

The walls of the palace were built of large bricks and even plastered with stucco as is evident from the panel¹²¹ revealing the "war of relics" (*Pl. 4c*). That the tiles (*giñjakas*) were at times the roofing material can be known from the depiction of an elephant stable on one of the reliefs¹²² of *stūpa*-3.

For the humbler dwellings, the common building material was bamboo and thatch.¹²³ Walls of the huts consisted of wattle and daub. In the *parṇa-śālā* or leaf huts various kinds of leaves were used, of these most common were *Sāl*, coconut and palm leaves.¹²⁴

The *stūpas* were built of brick as can be known from the available *stūpas* at Sanchi.

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4. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 40. 2.
5. *Ibid.*, 50. 2; 31.
6. *Ibid.*, 153.
7. *Ibid.*, 23. 1.
8. *Ibid.*, 27. 1; Also see 31. 1; 34. 1; 35. 1; 61. 2.
9. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 40. 2.
10. Coomaraswamy. A. K., "Early Indian Architecture"-I, *Cities and city gates etc.*, *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, 1930, p. 213.
11. G. R. Sharma, *Koshambi*, (Allahabad, 1960), pp. 27 ff. p1. 14.
12. *Eastern Art.*, Vol. II, (1930), pp. 209 ff. The cities of Rajagṛha and Śrāvastī, each had four gates on four sides *vide* B. C. Law, *Śrāvastī in Indian Literature*, *MAI*, No. 50, Delhi, 1935, p. 21; S. Beals, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, (London, 1833), (Oxford, 1924), P. XIII, V. 11, p. 4. *Dhammapada, Commentary*, (III, p. 380). The city of Pataliputra had 64 gates and a *Prākāra* wall running to a length of 25 miles, Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 35; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 119; Cf. Rajindra Lal Mitra, *Indo-Aryan*, Vol. 1 (Calcutta, 1881), pp. 44-45; McCrindle, *Strabo*, xv-36.
13. *Amara*, p. 77.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
15. J. 1, 340, 341; II, 239, and IV, 428.
16. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 16. 1.
17. *Ibid.*, 18, a3.
18. *Ibid.*, 40. 2.
19. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, 15. 3.
20. R. C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, p. 224.
21. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 23. 1.
22. *Ibid.*, 34. 1.

23. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 50. 1.
24. *Ibid.*, 61. 2.
25. *Cullavagga*, VI, 21, 2 and *J.* IV, 20.
26. Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, 23. 1.
27. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, 31. 1.
28. *Ibid.*, 15. 3.
29. VI, 400 (*ed.*, by E. B. Cowel and others) (Cambridge, 1895).
30. *J.* II, 40.
31. Elsewhere it means a monastery or temple. Early references to *pāsāda* as temple include *Sāṅkśr*, *Sū.*, 13, 16, 17; 18, Patañjali 2, 2, 34; *Pancatantra*, Bk. 1, Story 1, 27, ff; For later *prāsāda*, temples see *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chs. 267, 268; *Mhv.*, LXXII, 244; *Vism.*, 41; and *Cull.* VI, 14. 1.
32. *J.* VI, 412; *J.* VI, 456; IV, 182; VI, 428, 455; *J.* VI, 428, 429.
33. *DN.*, 11, 181, Cf. *Vatthaka*, basement, in *Cull.*, VI, 3, 6.
34. *DN.*, 11, 181; Cf. *Vatthaka*, basement in *Cull.*, VI, 3, 6.
35. In *Dhsa.*, 107, the constructional elements of a palace are listed. Cf. *Vism.*
36. *Encyclopaedia of Architecture*, 2, 538.
37. Cf. in this connection the evidence of 84 thousand pillared palace of Righteousness in *DN.*, 11, 181; Thousand pillared *Lohapāsāda* at Anurādhāpura and the other *Ratnapāsāda* built in 3rd Cent. A.D. is noteworthy in the archaeological context.
38. Marshall & Foucher., *op. cit.*, 34. b 1.
39. *Ibid.*, 35. a1.
40. *Ibid.*, 51. b2.
41. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, 18. b2: 49. a1.
42. *J.* 1, 58, 89, 304; IV, 105, 378, 379; VI, 382; *DhA.*, 1, 239; *Mhv.*, XXVII, 4, 15, 25.
43. *Mhv.*, XLVIII, 136.
44. *J.*, 1, 62, 304; IV, 130; VI, 103, 221 etc.
45. *J.*, 1, 60; IV, 105.
46. *KA.*, Ch. 21.
47. *J.* 1, 175, 348; *J.* VI, 428.
48. *J.*, 11, 111, 174, 456.
49. *J.*, III, 122-5; *J.* IV, 105.
50. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 12. 1.
51. *Ibid.*, 40. 2.
52. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 50. a1.
53. *Ibid.*, 63.2.
54. *DhA.*, 403, *J.* VI, 121.
55. *Ālinda* may be described as that part of any *tala* which is external to the *kūtā-gāras* or other chambers on that *tala*. (*Cullavagga*, VI, 14. 1).

56. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 35. a1.
57. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Early Indian Architecture; Palaces* (New Delhi), Fig. 6.
58. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, Fig. 11.
59. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 49, a-b.
60. *Ibid.*, 51. b2.
61. *DhSA.*, 210.
62. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 90, 86, a.
63. *Raghu*, XVI. 41.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Kādambarī*, p. 38.
66. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 52. a1.
67. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amarāvati sculptures*, Pl. XI., fig. 18a., Pl. XVIII, Fig. 2.
68. *JAOS.*, Vol. 48, pp. 250-275.
69. K. Krishna Murthy, *Nāgārjunakonda—A Cultural Study*, (Delhi, 1977), p. 26.
70. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 25. 1.
71. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, 29. 3.
72. *Amara*, p. 75. The poet Kālidāsa speaks of *Utajas* or leaf huts which had spacious *angaṇas* or courtyards (*Raghuvamśam*, 1, 52).
73. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, Pl. XI. 4 and Pl. LXVIII, fig. 5.
74. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. 11. 7.
75. T. N. Ramachandran, *Buddhist Sculptures from a stūpa near Goli*, Bulletin of the Madras Govt., Museum, (Madras, 1929), Pl. VI-F. Cf. A Cunningham, *Stūpa of Barhut*, (Varanasi, 1962), Pls. XLVIII, Fig. 7; XXVI, fig. 3 and XLVI, Fig. 4.
76. J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Pls. XVI a and LX, a.
77. John Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gāndhāra*, (Cambridge. 1960), Fig. 71.
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79. *Ibid.*, 34. a2.
80. *Ibid.*, 27. 1.
81. *Ibid.*, 29. 3.
82. *Ibid.*, 52. a1 and 25. 1.
83. *Ibid.*, 61. 2.
84. *Ibid.*, 40. 2.
85. *Ibid.*, 50. a1.
86. *Ibid.*, 34. a2.
87. *Ibid.*, 34. a2; and 52. a.
88. *Ibid.*, 23. 1, 31. 1, 34. b1 etc.
89. *Ibid.*, 52. a1; 25. 1; 51. a2. etc.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*, 90, 86a.
92. References to tiles (*giñjaka*) we get in the *Mahāvamśa*, LXXXVIII, 97, and

- giñjakavasathā*, D., 11. 205. Tiles have been noticed at Kolhapur in Sātavāhana levels. H. D. Sankalia and M. G. Dikshit, *Excavations at Brahmapuri*, 1945-46 (Kolhapur), Poona, 1952, Pl. XX-B; at Nasik in period, III, H. D. Sankalia and S. B. Deo, *Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe*, 1950-51 (Poona, 1957), p. 106; at Salihundam from the middle and late phases—R. Subrahmanyam, *A Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh*, Andhra Pradesh, Govt. Publication Series, (Hyderabad, 1964), p. 103.
93. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, Pl. 1, xi, Fig. 2.
 94. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15. 3.
 95. *Ibid.*, 23. 2 and 31. 1.
 96. *Ibid.*, 34. b1.
 97. *Ibid.*, 35. a1.
 98. *Ibid.*, 51. b2.
 99. *Ibid.*, 49.
 100. *Ibid.*, 50. a1.
 101. *Ibid.*, 63.1.
 102. *Ibid.*, 51. b2.
 103. *Ibid.*, 15. 3.
 104. *Ibid.*, 34. a2.
 105. *Ibid.*, 15. 1.
 106. *Ibid.*, 50. a1.
 107. *Cullavagga*, V, 2, 2.
 108. The *stūpa*, derived from the Sānskrit root *stu*, to collect, means a heap or mound. It also means a monument of veneration when it is connected with the root *stu* to praise. The *stūpa* (*dagoba* in the Sinhalese and the *dhātugarbha* in Sānskrit) occurs in the *Mahābhārata* (3, 190, 65 and 67) as *eduka*, *jahuka*, when they are referred as Buddhist shrines. See Foucher, *L' Art-Greco-Bouddhique*, 1, Paris, 1905-18, p. 96; H. Parker, Ancient Ceylon, London, 1909: *The Avadāna Sataka* mentions, three kinds of *stūpas*—*gandha stūpa*, *kesanaka stūpa* and *stūpa*:—See Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-270, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. 48 and my article on Relics from the South Indian *stūpas*, *JAHRS*, Vol. XXIX (Parts 3-4), pp. 1-7.
 109. *Mahāvāmśa*, ch. XXVIII, *Divyāvadāna*, p. 244.
 110. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 41-1.
 111. *Ibid.*, 29. 1.
 112. *Ibid.*, 26.
 113. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu periods)*, Pl. XX, Fig. 2 (Bombay, 1942).
 114. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 18. b1.
 115. *Ibid.*, 51. a2.
 116. *IAR*. 1960-61, p. 21, Pl. XXXII, B.

117. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 27. 1.
118. *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, 1930, p. 233 and also see Dhavalikar, (*Sanchi, A Cultural Study*), Fig. 7.
119. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 58, 64, 65 etc.
120. So far as the quarrying of local sand stone is concerned, it appears that it was done by a process which is still generally practised in this country (i.e.) by sinking in the face of the stone and along the line of intended cleavage a series of small cup-like depressions, filling them with water and building a fire over them, the heat of which acting on the water causes the stone to split. Another method also common in India and which may have been used at Sanchi, though there is no direct evidence for it is to cut a line of somewhat deeper cavities, drive in wooden wedges and pour water over the latter, thus causing the wood to swell and split the stone (Marshall, Vol. II, p. 161 and footnote-1).
121. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15. 3.
122. *Ibid.*, 90, 86a, Flate or slate tiles are being used in sub-Himalayan regions and Andhra Pradesh.
123. The *Suttanipāta* commentary (*Paramatthajyotika*, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 575-77) speaks of an institution of carpenters or wood carvers which maintained itself by executing occasional orders for the building purposes, cf. also *Mastya Purāṇa.*, Ch. 252-257; *Agni Purāṇa*, Ch. 105; *Garuda Purāṇa*, Ch. 46 etc.
124. *Jātakas*, I. 121; II, 154, 162. 175; II. 250, 264, 281, 284, 319, 320, 336, 416; X, 480; XXV, 538 etc. *Cullavagga* refers to various kinds of leaves as roofing material, VI, 3, 10; *SBE.*, XX. Part-iii, 177-179.

CHAPTER THREE

Costume

Costume is one of the cardinal necessities for a human living. It is also a marked characteristic of any culture. Fashions in costumes are as interesting to observe as any other facet of human self-expression. The tastes and tendencies of an age are clearly indicated by the type of clothes a period fancies. From this point of view, the depiction of costumes in the Sanchi reliefs are interesting and varied.

I. COSTUMES OF THE ARISTOCRACY

(i) *Kings*

The costume of the king represented in the relief of Sanchi is very scanty. It is indeed difficult to see, in the matter of dress, any difference between the royalty and the commoners, either in the articles of dress or in the way of wearing them. If at all there existed any difference, it could have been obviously in the material. It is quite possible that the higher class of people must have used finer fabric while the commoners used simpler variety. As regards to the scantiness of the dress in the reliefs, perhaps it was necessitated, as construed by the Rajendra Lal Mitra¹ owing to the exigencies of art or it might be that the persons sculptured at Sanchi were wearing a diaphanous costumes scarcely visible to the naked eye.

However, among the aristocratic persons, depicted in the Sanchi reliefs, the king is shown wearing a few items of dress. It includes generally an *antariya* and an *uttariya*. Thus, the king Aśoka represented on the southern gateway² is shown as wearing a short *dhoti*, the folds of which are clearly visible. The *dhoti* is seen ending at the knees.

A waist-band comprised of a strip of cloth or rolled scarf is tied round the waist. The scarf is knotted at the centre of the waist, with its tassels slinging (Pl. 10b). The scarf used as a *kamarabandha*³ is distinguishable from the ornamental girdle. A word *kāyābandh* meaning a garment for the waist is also referred to in the Kharoshti document from Chinese Turkistan.⁴ There were many fashionable ways of tying waist-band and it had different names in accordance with the fashion it was worn. For example, the *Cullavagga*⁵ refers to the term *dedubhaka*, a knot-shaped like a water serpent-hood. Likewise, *Kalavuka* designated the *kamarabandha* made of many strings plaited together. However, the *dhoti* worn by the king Aśoka can be identified as *ardhoruka*.⁶ In this case, the king is not wearing any upper garment. Again, precisely similar type of *ardhoruka* is seen as worn by the king Suddhodana.⁷ But, in this case, the arrangement of the lower garment, *ardhoruka* at the back is available. The end of the lower garment is drawn between the legs at the back so that pleated front portion comes just from under the divide of the buttocks. The pleated and smugly tucked in hind-pleates are clearly visible (Pl. 22a). The king Suddhodana is shown wearing an upper garment. The *uttariya* worn in *upavita* fashion is made to fall back from the left shoulder. Its stiffness is maintained by the weight of the heavy tassel. The upper garment is usually a single piece of cloth of considerable length. In literature, the words *uttariya*, *uttarāsaṅga*, *uttarāśātaka*, *uparivasana*, *prāvāraṇa* connote the upper garment. Kālidāsa⁸ refers to the upper cloth ornamented with real precious stones forming into a lovely borders. The upper garment found on the upper person of the king Suddhodhana may be such a one. Again, in the panel⁹ revealing the "Return of the Kapilavastu", the king Suddhodhana offers the best example of the *ardhoruka*. The *ardhoruka* worn by him ends over the knee with its clearly visible folds and is secured by means of a waist-band with its loop on the right side. The tassels of the waist-band can be seen slinging in between the legs in the centre. The *uttariya* worn by him is passing over his arms and is made to dangle on his either side. However, different modes of wearing the waist-band is seen in Nāgarāja depicted on the Southern gateway.¹⁰ In this case,

the end of the waist-band is rather long resembling elephant trunk. However, the loop of the waist-band on the right side is clearly visible.

In one instance, the king represented in the *Śyāma jāṭaka*¹¹ offers altogether a different type of dress (*Pl. 23a*). He appears in a hunting dress which is a sewn garment. He is shown wearing a full sleeved tunic, the sleeves being rolled to the elbows, when shooting the arrows, the kilt fastened securely round the waist, manifolded *kamarabanda*, cross straps to carry their quiver. His under garment consists of a pleated garment having the resemblance of a modern skirt. The *antariya* ends at the knees. The pleats of the garment give the appearance of the one made of bark (*valkala*) (*Pl. 23a*).

The full sleeved tunic or coat worn by the king is essentially a Central Asian garment. Agrawala identifies this garment as the *China-Colaka*¹² type of garment. It is interesting to note that Scythians appear with similar tunics on the painted vase from Olympia in Greece ascribable to 6th Century B.C.¹³ In India too, it probably came with Scythian in 1st century B.C. Hence, their presence at Sanchi. However, they were on the increase only in 2nd-3rd Century A.D. as is known from the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā¹⁴ and Mathura.¹⁵ But they became an article of common use only in the Gupta period as we find such coats worn by the Gupta monarchs on some of their coins.¹⁶

Further, a similar but rather loose tunic known as *chogā*¹⁷ was later used by the Moghul princes. The *chogā* in all probability, finds its proto-type in *China-Colaka*.

(ii) *Amorous couple* (Male)

Three pairs of amorous couples get portrayal on the western gateway.¹⁸ The males of the amorous couple appear as wearing an *ardhoruka*. In all the cases, the lower garment is secured by means of a waist-band, the tassel of which is made to sling in the centre while the loop of the waist-band can be seen on the left side (*Pl. 14b*).

(iii) *Gods, semi-gods and the celestials*

It may not be unreasonable to deduce inferences as regards the dress of the aristocratic persons from the representation of gods and

other celestials. In the illustration of gods and goddesses, the Hindu and the Buddhist art show all through, marked reliance on the prevailing fashions in the upper class. It has been said that "Indian gods live like glorified rajas." Though in later Buddhist mythology, they occupied a position subordinate to the Master, people regarded them as superiors belonging to the class of kings as they put on such like dress. In one panel¹⁹ we meet a host of gods where they are shown with the *ardhorukas* secured by means of a *kamarbandha*, a dress which usually, the king represented in the reliefs wears. Only one among these *devas* differs in his dress from others. He wears a *dhoti* which reaches his ankles. He has secured the *dhoti* a waist-band, the knot of which is to be seen on the left side while the tassel of the waist-band slings in between his legs. However, no upper garment is seen on his upper person. *Devas* with an upper garment worn in different style are met with in the panel²⁰ revealing "the Great Miracle." In this case, the upper garment worn by them are allowed to pass under their left hand arm-pit and coiled back on the left shoulder. As for the lower garment, they were *ardhorukas*, the usual dress worn by other gods. However, it is Indra and Māra that occur in the reliefs with different type of dresses. Both of them are seen in the sculptures wearing an *ardhoruka* and a *dhoti* in different contexts. Thus, the Indra depicted in the scene depicting the "Transportation of the Gautama's turban"²¹ is shown wearing a short *dhoti*. It is secured by means of a waist-band with its knot on the left and the tassel sling in the centre (*Pl. 10c*). In another scene²² illustrating "Viśvantara Jātaka," Indra appears in a *dhoti*. Although, mostly, the folds of the *dhoti* can be made out upto his ankle (*Pl. 24c*). As usual, a waist-band is tied round the *dhoti*. No upper garment is seen used by him. Similarly, the king Māra appears twice in the panel revealing "Māra's army."²³ but in a different dress. In one case, he is shown sitting on a throne wearing *ardhoruka*. The same person appears with a *dhoti* in the same panel while standing before the *bodhi* tree, which is the symbolic representation of the Buddha. However, in both the cases, he does not have the upper garment. It is again, the *yaksha* illustrated in the Sanchi sculptures offers dress in different manner. Thus, the *yaksha* depicted on the Northern gateway²⁴

offers an excellent example of a short *dhōṭī*. He is shown wearing a short *dhōṭī*, the folds of which are clearly sculptured. The lower garment ends over the knees and is tied round with a waist-band, the one end of which is held by his left hand, while the other end is allowed to dangle in the centre. Again, the upper garment worn by him is elaborate and gracious. It is made to dangle from both the hands and the stiffness of the folds of the upper garment is retained by the heaviness of the precious stones fringed at the borders (Pl. 24b). Again, a *yaksha* carved on the Western gateway²⁵ betrays a different mode of wearing an *antariya*. It is a long lower garment reaching to have been down below the knees as seen in the case of a *dhōṭī* (Pl. 27). It seems simply wound round the waist and one of the ends at its front is held in the left hand and the long flowing tuft is left loosely slinging down. There might, however, be a *kacchā* at the back. This particular mode of wearing a *dhōṭī* marks a noteworthy change from the one already described in which the pleats were tucked in at the front.

(iv) Princes

The Prince Prasenajit depicted on the Northern gateway²⁶ wears a short *dhōṭī* which reaches upto his knees. The fine folds of the *dhōṭī* can be made out easily. However, no upper garment is seen worn by him. Exactly similar dress can be seen as worn by the prince Viśvantara, revealed in the scenes²⁷ depicting "Viśvantara jātaka." His dress constitutes an *ardhoruka* with a waist-band tied round over it. The knot of the waist-band is seen in the centre while one end of the waist-band is held on his left hand. Thus, one can see the absolute similarity, between the dress of a prince and that of the other royal members. A clear example of the dress of a prince can be seen illustrated in the dress of prince Prasenajit depicted in the scene²⁸ revealing "First Sermon." He is shown as usual, wearing an *antariya* secured by means of a waist-band. The tassels of the waist-band is made to sling in the centre between the legs. In this case, *uttariya* is also seen worn by him. It is resting over the neck and is passing through the right arm and is so long that both its ends reach the ground.

(v) *Courtiers, noblemen and royal personages*

Two animal riders, the courtiers depicted on the Northern gateway²⁹ are seen wearing tight fitting, full sleeved coats (*Cinacolaka*). The coat of the rider on the left is round necked while that of the other is "V" shaped and both have a front openings. Owing to the rough representation, the lower garment worn by them cannot be made out. These two royal personages with foreign dress could have been, in all probability, the Scythians.

Again, the *vyāla* riders,³⁰ presumably, courtiers wear a tight fitting half-sleeved tunic. This half-sleeved tunic is a new introduction. From the very nature of its sleeves which end above the elbow, the garment can be identified as a *kūrpāsaka*. According to Dr. Agrawala, it is once again of Central Asian origin.³¹ This garment does not appear to have taken much time to appear on the Indian scene as some men in the earlier ground of paintings at Ajanta³² and in the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa³³ are shown wearing it. Later, it became very common in the Gupta period³⁴ and still continues to be worn by villagers in Maharashtra where it is known as *kopari* (in Marāṭhi), the name that has been derived from the Sanskrit *kūrpāsaka*.

The riders who are wearing a *kūrpāsaka* are also seen wearing long tight-fitting trousers. Evidently, these riders in foreign dress could have been foreigners. In addition to the tight fitting trousers and a half-sleeved tunic one of the riders wears a foreign cap. However, the trousers worn by these riders are of *Svasthāna* type³⁵ which is of Central Asian origin. By reason of their domestication of horses and adoption of horse back riding", says McGovern, the inhabitants of Central Asia were forced to discard the loose skirt costume. For centuries, wearing of trousers was confined exclusively to the inhabitants of Central Asia and this costume spread to all parts of the globe.³⁶ The word *sonstamni* referred to in the Niya documents of Central Asia, seems to be the same piece of apparel.³⁷ Bailey suggests that it may refer to *suthamna* (trouser) modern word *sutthana*.³⁸ Evidently, this apparel was the introduction of the Śakas into India. Further, it is needless to say that the riders wearing a *kūrpāsaka* and *svasthāna* are Śakas.

Again, a goat rider, apparently, a noble man depicted on the Eastern gateway³⁹ offers yet a different and interesting costume. His lower garment appears to be a short skirt, ending above the knees, while the upper garment is a long and broad piece of cloth which he is wearing in the fashion in which a Roman donned his *toga* (PL. 30a). His dress resembles that of a Roman soldier and he can therefore be taken to be a Roman.⁴⁰

The presence of foreigners like Śakas and Romans in the Sanchi reliefs may not be out of context. It is well-known fact that the Central Asians more particularly Śakas, had come into India even before the beginning of the Christian era in large number and settled in the North-western part of the country. As for the Romans, owing to the trade contacts that India had with the Imperial Rome, in the early centuries of the Chirstian era, the India brought them (Romans) in the services of the local rulers. This trade received tremendous impetus during Augustu's regime which was almost contemporaneous with the execution of the Sanchi reliefs. Moreover, the classical writers also record the visits of the Roman merchants to India and their settlements in the country as well.⁴¹ This would explain the Roman at Sanchi.

(vi) *Dwarfs*

The dress of the dwarfs as depicted in the reliefs is again scanty. Thus, the dwarf represented on the Southern gateway⁴² reveals an *ardhoruka* as his lower garment. The short *dhoti* worn by him ends at the knees (Pl. 32c). However, neither upper garment nor the waist-band can be seen worn by him. The best example of the *ardhoruka* worn by a dwarf occurs on the Western gateway⁴³ (Pl. 31c). It is secured tightly by means of a waist-band with its knot on the left side. The tassels of the waist-band are clearly visible.

(vii) *Demons*

The demons depicted on the Western gateway⁴⁴ also were *ardhorukas* (Pl. 35c). In this case, they are not seen using either a upper garment or a waist-band.

A noteworthy feature of the *ardhoruka* which was worn by men of all classes, is that it reaches down below the knees in the case of men belonging to royalty and nobility, while in the case of men of the lower classes, it ends just above the knees. Similarly, the upper garment used by men was not a very common garment. It is shown in the reliefs used only by the kings, princes, and noble men while common man is never shown using it at all.

(viii) *Queens*

The Sanchi reliefs reveal scanty dress for royal ladies and divulge no dis-similarity when compared to the costumes of the ladies of the lower class. The disparity in status does not seem to have affected the style of costume and practically we find the same dress used by both the queens and the ladies of the lower class. However, as seen in the case of kings, the queens and the princesses of Sanchi reliefs reveal sparse dress. Thus, the queen *Māya* depicted on the Southern gateway⁴⁵ wears an *antariya* which reaches upto the ankles. It is seen secured by means of a waist-band, the tassels of which can be seen on her right side. The *antariya* is made of thin material (*magnāmsuka*) (Pl. 32a). However, her upper portions left bare. Again, the queens depicted on the Southern gateway⁴⁶ offer similar type of dress described above. They are shown wearing a lower garment that reaches the knees. The folds of the *antariya* can be made out easily. In this case also no upper garment is to be seen. The queen *Tishyarakshita* represented in the scene⁴⁷ revealing "Aśoka's visit to the *Bodhi* tree", reveals again, similar type of dress (Pl. 5c). Her lower garment is secured by means of a *kamarabandha*, the knot of which can be seen on her right side. The tassels of the waist-band hang on her right side. As usual, her upper portion, is left bare. However, an excellent example of a queen's dress can be seen in the dress of the queen depicted in the scene⁴⁸ representing "the Return of the *Kapilavastu*". The lower garment in this case, extends upto ankle and one end of the lower garment is taken to the left side and allowed to dangle. However, no *stanottariya* is seen used by her (Pl. 25c).

(ix) *Amorous couples (Females)*

The female dress in the amorous couples very much resembles that seen on the queens. They are represented almost bare-bodied except for the use of a lower garment at times tied with a waist-band.

(x) *Nāgis and royal women*

A Nāgī represented on the Southern gateway⁴⁹ wears an *antariya* which is secured by means of a waist-band. The knot and the tassels of it can be seen hanging on her left thigh. Her upper portion is left bare. Similar dress can be seen as worn by a royal lady depicted in the scene⁵⁰ revealing *Bodhi-druma* worship (Pl. 43). The lower garment is made of a thin material (*magnāmsūka*). The edge of the lower garment is clearly sculptured.

(xi) *Princesses*

The princess depicted in the reliefs also offer scanty dress. They are seen in the sculptures wearing only an *antariya*. Thus, the princess Mādri represented in the scene depicting "the Viśvantara Jātaka" wears a lower garment which extends upto her ankles. One end of the lower garment is seen gathered on her left hip as shown in the illustration (Pl. 17a). She is not wearing any upper garment. Again, the dress of the princess Mādri is revealed on the Northern gateway.⁵¹ Her lower garment is seen extending upto the ankles. The folds of the lower garment are clearly sculptured. In her case also no *stanothariya* is used.

We see a different attire in the case of Mādri depicted in the scene revealing the "Viśvantara Jātaka". She is shown in an ascetic's dress. Her lower garment which forms its schematic rib-like folds appears to be bark of tree (*valakala*), while at the same time, the possibility of its being made of grass can also not be ruled out (Pl. 29c). What is interesting is her mode of wearing the lower garment. It is a single piece of long apparel which is tied around the loins with one end of it taken on to her left shoulder covering her left breast, thereby, leaving her right breast exposed. It is interesting to note that women of rural areas and that of the lower class (menials)

even to this day, wear their *saris* in the similiar manner by leaving one of their breasts exposed. It is also typical to see Mādri's lower garment ending at the knees which is again a common sight even to this day in the case of the women engaged in menial works, who invariably appear with their *saris* ending well over the ankles.

The exposition of the breasts in the reliefs need not reflect immodesty on the part of the women of those times as the manifestations of the modesty are of most fluctuating character. What is considered quite permissible on one occasion can after some time be regarded as indecent. Ideas of modesty, it has been said, are altogether relative and conventional and it is not the feeling of shame that has given rise to the covering of the body, but the covering that has provoked the feeling of shame. It is interesting to note that the ladies of certain communities particularly of the Nāyar community in the present state of Kerala appear with a lower garment leaving the upper portion bare. Speaking about the Nāyar women, Logan⁵² says "the women clothe themselves in a single, white cloth of fine texture reaching from the waist to the knees..... But by custom, the Nāyar women go uncovered from the waist". Similar is the case of the present day tribal women of the Bastar in Madhya Pradesh.

It appears that in ancient India, the Tamil women wore only lower garments, from the loins downwards to the ankles, while the upper portion of the waist remained completely bare.⁵³ The women of the hill tribe wore bunches of the green leaves tied to a string round their waist.⁵⁴ In fact, nudity does not appear to have been indecent in ancient India.⁵⁵

Nudity as seen in the reliefs of Sanchi may be due to the artistic convention of the age as construed by Altekar. He says "the real explanation of women appearing without their bust being properly covered in the sculptures and paintings of the southern and central India seems to be the artistic convention of the age. Breasts are the most significant symbol of motherhood and the artists of the provinces probably felt that they may be shown uncovered in the works of art, though they may be normally concealed in an actual life under a

bodice or a portion of the *saris*".⁵⁶ This convention, he thinks, eased the task of fully exhibiting the beauty of the female form without suggesting any indecency and also gave the artist an opportunity to reveal the different ornaments worn on the chest and the shoulders.⁵⁷ According to Maisey, the nudity of the women in the relief of Sanchi is because, the artist, like, the early Greek artist represented the drapery over the lower limbs by the simple lines.⁵⁸ Again, it would not be unreasonable to imagine that, in all probability, the breasts were covered with such a thin veil-like diaphanous cloth, scarcely, visible to the naked eye.

II. COSTUMES OF PALACE AND COURT ATTENDANTS

(i) *Fly whisk bearers, (Chauri bearers)*

The *chauri* bearers being a favourite theme of the Sanchi sculptor, are oft-delineated in the reliefs. Both male and female *chauri* bearers appear in the reliefs more than once. Generally, these *chauri* bearers are depicted either attending on a king or queen inside the palace or courts or royal processions or pleasure gardens.

(a) *Male chauri bearers (Chāmaradhāra[s])*:—Regarding the dress of the male *chauri* bearers, the reliefs do not offer much information. However, an idea of their costume can be gathered from the panel⁵⁹ depicting the "Transport of the Relics". Here a male *chauri* bearer is shown wearing an *ardhoruka* which ends at the knees. He is not seen wearing any upper garment. He is in the act of waving the *chauri* by rising his right hand. In another panel⁶⁰ illustrating "the Great Departure" (Pl. 5b), a male *chāmaradhāra* offers a clear example of his dress. He wears a lower garment which is secured by a waist-band. The loop of the waist-band on the left side and the tuft of it hanging in between his legs giving an appearance of an elephant's trunk are clearly visible. In his case also, no upper garment can be seen.

(b) *Female chauri bearers (Chāmaradhārinis)*:—The represented costume of the *chāmaradhārinis* in the Sanchi reliefs is scanty and akin to that of the queens and princesses. Thus, the panel⁶¹ representing

“the Seven Mānushi-Buddhas,” illustrates a *chāmaradhārini* with a dress which consists of a lower garment and waist-band (*Pl. 4a*). The loop and the hanging tuft of the waist-band can be seen on her right side. She stands before the *Bodhi-druma* slothfully resting the *chāmara* (the fly-whisk) on her right shoulder as described later in Bāṇa’s *Kādambari*.⁶² Similar representations occur in the sculptures of Amarāvati,⁶³ Nāgārjunakoṇḍa⁶⁴ and in the paintings of Ajanta.⁶⁵

(ii) *Umbrella*⁶⁶ bearers

Both male *chhatradhāras* and female *chhatradhārinis* appear in the relief more than once. Generally, the umbrella-par-excellence was only held over the kings and occasionally over the princes too. Thus, these umbrella bearers are depicted either attending on the kings or the queen when they were inside the courts or they are shown holding an umbrella over a *stūpa* or in a procession.

(a) *Male umbrella bearers (Chhatradhāras)*:—The *chhatradhāras* invariably appear in the reliefs attending on the kings during the processions. As described in the *Jātakas*⁶⁷, the umbrella bearer, like the *chauri* bearer accompanied the kings or princes even while they rode on elephants during the processions. These umbrellas had also religious significance. They were held over the objects of worship or reverence like the *Bodhi* tree and the *stūpa*.

As regards the dress of the male umbrella-bearers, the reliefs do not offer much information. However, an idea of the costume worn by the *Chhatradhāra* can be had from the scene⁶⁸ depicted on the Western gateway. Here, a male is shown wearing a lower garment, the multifold of which is clearly visible. No upper garment can be seen on him. One interesting feature of the *chhatradhāras* is that nowhere in the reliefs, they are depicted with an *uttariya*.

(b) *Female umbrella-bearers (Chhatradhārinis)*:—The best example of the costume of the *chhatradhārini* occurs from the scene depicting the “Return to Kapilavastu”. A female is shown holding a *chhatra* over the king Suddhodana. She is seen wearing a lower garment which extends upto her knees. The lower garment is secured by means

of a waist-band. The waist-band is knotted in the centre with its tassels slinging in between her legs. However, no upper garment is seen worn by her.⁶⁹

(c) *Other palace male and female attendants* :— The scene⁷⁰ depicting “the Viśvantara jātaka”, reveals the costume of the palace attendant. He is shown carrying a ewer in a royal procession. He is wearing an *antariya* which ends at the knees. He has tied round his waist, a wasit-band. The multiple bands of the scarf or wasit-band can be made out easily (Pl.24c). He is not wearing any upper garment. In this way, his costume does not differ with that of the *chhatra* or *chāmara* bearers. Again, the panel⁷¹ revealing the “Great Departure”, the costume of the male attendant can be seen. An attendant carrying sandals, in the procession wears an *ardhoruka* which ends well over the knees. The lower garment is strengthened by tying a waist-band over it. The knot and the tassel of the waist-band can be made out in the centre.

Again, the male attendants depicted in the scene⁷² revealing the “War of Relics” appear with a short *dhoti* with a *kachchhā* at their back (Pl. 35b). Invariably, they are seen tying round their waist, the waist-band in multiple coils. It is a common sight in rural areas even to this day, to see persons with waist-band tied round their waist when they are engaged in long journeys or manual work.

Similarly, the palace maids (*Prāsādikās*) also betray scanty dress. However, an interesting dress worn by a *prāsādikā* occurs in the scene⁷³ representing “Bodhi worship” (Pl. 34b). She is shown wearing a cut-drawer resembling modern *jañghia*. This under garment is usually referred to as *ardha-jañghia*.⁷⁴ Agrawala rightly identifies this variety as the *satulā* mentioned in the *Harṣacarita*.⁷⁵ Over this *satulā*, she is shown wearing another lower garment made of this material, *magnāṁśuka*. Perhaps, this transparent cloth necessitated the usage of the *ardha-jañghia*. The edge of this thin drapery can be made out easily at her ankles. It is noteworthy, that the usage of an under garment (drawer) beneath a lower garment was in vogue as early as in 1st Cent. B.C. and serves as a prototype to the modern

way of wearing a lower garment with an underwear. Except for the lower garment no other items of dress can be seen with her.

A palace female attendant depicted on the Southern gateway⁷⁶ offers a clear example of the dress usually worn by the *prāsādikās* (Pl. 10b). She is shown wearing an *antariya* extending upto her knees. The folds of the lower garment is clearly sculptured. However, no upper garment is seen used by her. Again, the three *prāsādikās* depicted in the scene⁷⁷ representing "the king in pleasure garden" (Pl. 39b), offer a clear example of their dress. They are shown standing in a balcony and observing the proceedings in the pleasure garden. They are seen wearing a lower garment which is secured by means of waist-band. In all the cases, the tuft of the waist-band is made to dangle in between their legs. As usual no upper garment can be seen.

(d) *Standard bearers* :— Generally, they are seen in the reliefs, holding the standard either after or before the presence of royalty. The standard, like, all other royal emblems, were also used for religious purposes. One noteworthy feature of the standard bearers depicted in the Sanchi reliefs is that they are exclusively males and the dress worn by them is precisely similar to that worn by the depicted kings or princes in the relief. Thus, two standard bearers carved on the Western gateway⁷⁸ (Pl. 39a) wear an *ardhoruka* which is secured by means of a waist-band. The loop of the waist-band can be seen on the sides. The tuft of the waist-band is allowed to hang in the centre. One of these standard bearer also uses *uttariya* which is worn diagonally, passing it under his right arm-pit and thrown at the back from the shoulder. Precisely similar dress is met with in two standard bearers depicted in the panel⁷⁹ revealing the "Great Miracle of the Sambodhi". They are also seen wearing an *ardhoruka* secured by a waist-band. The knot and the tassels of the waist-band are clearly seen. In this case, they are not wearing any upper garment. In one instance⁸⁰ (Pl. 25a) a standard bearer, probably a Greek, offers a different kind of attire. He wears a loose mantle around his loins which has the semblance of the modern skirt. However, the

dress is evidently quite un-Indian and Greek in origin. A coat of *Chīna-Colaka* variety is seen adorning his upper portion. Over this coat, he is wearing a cloak which is secured on the neck at the front by means of a round clasp. The cloak is seen falling loosely on the back. Dr. Agrawala identifies this cloak as *āchchhādanaka* mentioned in the *Harṣacarita*.⁸¹

III. COSTUMES OF SOLDIERS

An idea of the dress of the native soldiers depicted in the Sanchi relief can be known from the battle scene carved on the Southern gateway.⁸² Thus, the bowmen, spear men, shield men, club men depicted in the battle scene wear an *ardhoruka*, which is secured by multiple coils of the waist-band (*Pl. 15c*). None of them wear *uttariya*. Again, the soldiers depicted in the scene⁸³ illustrating the procession of the seven claimant's reveal exactly the similar dress described above. However, the club men depicted in the royal procession⁸⁴ give a more clear picture of a soldier's dress. He is seen wearing an *ardhoruka* which is tied with a waist-band. He is holding one end of the scarf in his left hand while the other end is allowed to dangle in the front. The best example of the dress of a soldier can be seen in the demon, holding a *triśūla*, of the Māra's army.⁸⁵ He wears a short *dhoti* which ends over his knees (*Pl. 35c*). Except for this item of dress he is completely bare. Similarly, the soldiers depicted in the scene⁸⁶ revealing Mahākapi jātaka wear short *dhotis* as seen in the case of soldiers described above. In the present case, the pleated scarf wound round the waist with one of its tassels slinging in the front is clearly sculptured (*Pl. 13a*).

Although the foreign soldiers get their portrayal in the relief⁸⁷ their dress cannot be known, as they are partially seen.

IV. COSTUMES OF COMMON PEOPLE

(i) Brāhmins

An idea about the attire of the brāhmins can be had from the panel⁸⁸ illustrating "the Viśvantara jātaka". In this panel, a brāhmin

appears thrice. He is shown wearing a *dhoti* which is secured with a waist-band. The tuft of the waist-band is allowed to dangle in front in between the legs. He is also wearing an *uttariya* that passes over his left shoulder diagonally (Pl. 36). Again, elsewhere, the brāhmin appears with an *ardhoruka*. But in this case, no *uttariya* is to be seen on his upper portion.

(ii) *Grooms*

The dress of the groom can be known from Channa depicted in the panel revealing "the Great Departure"⁸⁹ (Pl. 5b). He is shown wearing a short *dhoti*, *ardhoruka*.

(iii) *Hunters*

The dress of a hunter can be gathered from the panel⁹⁰ illustrating "Mahākapi jātaṅga". A hunter is shown shooting at the monkey. He wears a full sleeved tunic of *China-Colaka* type with the sleeves rolled to the elbows. The kilt fastened securely round the waist, manifolded *kamarabandha*, cross-straps to carry the quiver are all the other items that constituted the dress of the hunter. However, the details of the lower garment is not available since the lower portion of the figure is mutilated.

(iv) *Musicians*

Two guitar players depicted in the scene⁹¹ illustrating the "Return of the perfectly accomplished Buddha" (Pl. 6a) offer the dress of the musicians. They are seen wearing a short *dhoti* which is in turn secured by a waist-band. The prominent knot of the waist-band and the tufts of the waist-band slinging in between their legs are clearly visible. But for these items of dress they are completely bare. Again, it is the drummers who give good idea of the dress of the musician. Thus, the drummers depicted in the panel⁹² revealing "the War of Relics" (Pl. 35b) wear a short *dhoti*. They have secured the *dhoti* with *kamarabandha*. The tassels of the waist-band is made to dangle in the centre. Precisely, similar dress is again met with, in the drummers depicted in the scene⁹³ revealing "the Great Miracle of the

Sambodhi". Some of the Greek Musicians depicted on the Northern gateway gives us the dress of the foreign musician at Sanchi. They all wear loose mantle around their waist as the lower garment and a tunic of *China-Colaka*, a type as upper garment. In addition they are also seen wearing a cloak.

(v) *Fisherman*

The fisherman depicted in the scene⁹⁴ revealing "the village of Uruvilva" wears an *ardhoruka* secured by a waist-band (*Pl. 18*). The tuft of the waist-band is allowed to hang in between his legs.

(vi) *Wrestler*

A wrestler depicted on the gateway⁹⁵ reveals a foreign dress. He is seen clad in a close fitting tunic and a short under garment resembling a modern knicker all of foreign origin. In addition to these, he wears a high boot and a fillet with flying ends.

(vii) *Woodcutter*

An anchorite cutting the wood with an axe gets portrayed in the scene⁹⁶ depicting the life in the hermitage (*Pl. 19*). He wears an *antariya* probably made of bark of tree (*valkala*). The schematic rib-like folds of the lower garment is clearly visible. Except this, no other garment is to be seen. However, this dress cannot be taken as a general dress for a woodcutter. This type of dress is necessitated in the present case as he is an anchorite.

(viii) *Water carriers*

A water carrier is depicted in the scene⁹⁷ revealing the life in the hermitage (*Pl. 19*). He is shown with a *kāvadi* (*vihaṅgikā*). His dress comprises of a short *dhoti* wound round his loins. A waist-band is also seen tied over it.

(ix) *Jungle dweller*

A dress of a jungle dweller is carved on the Eastern gateway.⁹⁸ His dress consists of a lower garment secured by a waist-band.

(x) *Village women*

The dress of the village women can be gathered from the panel⁹⁹ depicting the “Viśvantara jātaka” (Pl. 17a). They are shown wearing an *antariya* made of thin material (*magnāmśuka*). The thin edge of the lower garment can be seen clearly. Again, the village women revealed in the scene of “village Uruvilva”¹⁰⁰ (Pl. 18) also wear similar type of dress.

(xi) *Ascetics*

The dress of the ascetics can be gathered from the panel¹⁰¹ revealing “the Viśvantara jātaka”. The anchorites revealed in the panel offer an interesting dress. They wear a kilt, not a cloth wrapped round the loins, but as far as can be judged from the sculptures, it was tailor-made and fastened to the waist with a string (Pl. 24c). They also wear a tippet or cloak which covers the left shoulder and chest leaving the right breast open. In the same panel, princess Mādri appears in the women anchorite dress. She wears what appears to be like drawers reaching to the knees and a tippet or cloak (Pl. 24c) as seen in the case of man anchorite, the only difference being that whereas the man’s cloak covers only the shoulder, the woman’s also covers the part of the arm a little above the elbow.

Again, the dress of the anchorite can be seen in the panel¹⁰² revealing “the conversion of the Kasyapas”. The anchorites are seen precisely with similar type of dress as described above. It is again Śyāma¹⁰³ that appears with a similar type of dress with slight deviation (Pl. 23a). In this case, Śyāma is only having an *antariya* but the upper garment as seen above is missing here. Thus, he differs from the above dress of the anchorites.

Evidently, this dress of the anchorites which has the appearance of schematic rib-like folds is made of bark of tree (*valkala*). Garments made of bark of tree or grass have a high antiquity in India. In *Vedic* period, the wife of the sacrificer is described as putting on a garment of the *kuśa* grass.¹⁰⁴ In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣhmaṇa are described as wearing *valkalas* (i.e.) the bark dress during their exile.¹⁰⁵ The Buddhist text also refers to garments of grass bark and tree leaves (*phalaka*).

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4. Agrawala, R.C. *A study of textiles and garments* as depicted in the Kharoshṭī documents from Chinese-Turkistan, Doc. No. 149, *Bharatiya Vidya* (1953), Vol. XIV, pp. 75-94 under item No. 0. Cf. *Cullavagga* V. 29,4; *Kāyābandhanam Jātaka* (R.N. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist Indīa*, 1939, Bombay, p. 262).
5. *Cullavagga*, V. 29.2.
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7. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 49.c.
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10. *Ibid.*, 11.2.
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12. Agrawala, R.C., "Clothes in *Harṣacarita* (In Hindi)," *NPP*, Vol. 57, 1952-53, p. 325.
13. W.McGovern, *Early Empires of Central Asia*, pl. facing p. 36 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1939).
14. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa), Fig. III, 9 and 11.
15. J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura* (Bruxelles, 1930), Pls. I, II & III.
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18. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 64.c2.
19. *Ibid.*, 51.1.
20. *Ibid.*, 55.2.
21. *Ibid.*, 18.b3.
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24. *Ibid.*, 36a.
25. *Ibid.*, 66.a.
26. *Ibid.*, 31.1.
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28. *Ibid.*, 26.
29. *Ibid.*, 24.
30. *Ibid.*, 56c.
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34. Cf. N.P. Joshi, *Life in Ancient Uttarāpatha (Material Civilization of Northern India from Circa 200 B.C. to A.D. 300 as revealed by the sculptures, terracottas and coins)*, Lucknow, 1967, p. 164, Fig. 499.
35. Agrawala, *NPP.*, Vol. 57, p. 320.
36. McGovern, *Early Empires of Central Asia*, (Chapel Hill, N.C. 1936), p. 2.
37. Agrawala, R.C. *Study of the Textiles and Garments as depicted in the Kharoshṭī documents from the Chinese-Turkistan*, *BV*, Vol. XIV, 1953, p. 89.
38. H.W. Bailey, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. IX., p. 532.
39. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 48.
40. Roman *toga* was a distinctive garb of the Roman citizen when appeared in public. It consisted of a white woollen cloth of semi-circular cut, about five yards long by four yards wide, a certain portion of which was pressed by the fuller into long narrow plaits. This cloth was doubled lengthways, not down the centre, but so that one fold was deeper than the other. It was next thrown over the next shoulder in such a manner that the end in front reached to the ground and the part behind was about twice a man's height in length. This end was then brought round under the right arm and again thrown over to the left shoulder so as to cover the whole of the right side from the armpit to the calf. The broad folds in which it hung over were thus gathered together on the left shoulder. The part which crossed the breast diagonally was known as the *sinus* or bosom. It was deep enough to serve as a pocket for the reception of small articles. (Oskar Seyffert, *A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, London, 1957), p. 639-40).
41. K.A. Nilakantha Sastri, (Ed.). *The Mouryas and Sātavāhanas* (Bombay, 1957), p. 440.
42. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 11.3.
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44. *Ibid.*, 61.3.
45. *Ibid.*, 11.1.
46. *Ibid.*, 18. b1.
47. *Ibid.*, 40.3.
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52. Quoted from Edgar Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, Madras, 1906, p. 530.
53. *Kalith-thokai*, 111 and 115. See also V. Kanaka Sabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago*, (Madras, 1904), Chapter, IX, p. 8, 117.

54. *Kurinchippadu*, 102.
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61. *Ibid.*, 15.1.
62. *Kādambarī*, p. 28.
63. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravāti sculptures*, Pl. V, Fig. 7.
64. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
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66. For detailed account of the umbrella, see the note "Umbrellas" forming appendix ii, by N. M. Penzer, in Vol. II of the "Ocean of Stories", C.H. Tawney's translation of *Somadeva's Kathā Sarith Sāgara*. See also Varahamihira's description of royal umbrella; *Bṛhat Samhitā*, ed. by V. Subramanya Sastry, Vol. III, Bangalore (1947), Ch. 72, p. 589 ff.
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68. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 57.1.
69. *Ibid.*, 36.c3.
70. *Ibid.*, 29.3.
71. *Ibid.*, 40.2.
72. *Ibid.*, 61.2.
73. *Ibid.*, 43.2.
74. *NPP*. Vol. 57, PP. 321-22.
75. *Ibid.*, P. 320.
76. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 18. b1.
77. *Ibid.*, 63.2.
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79. *Ibid.*
80. *Ibid.*, 36. c1.
81. *NPP*., Vol. 57, p. 328.
82. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15.3.
83. *Ibid.*, 16. b1.
84. *Ibid.*, 18. a2.
85. *Ibid.*, 61.3.
86. *Ibid.*, 64.1.
87. F.C. Maisey, *Sanchi and its remains*, (Delhi, 1972), Pl. VI., Fig. 2.
88. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 23.1.
89. *Ibid.*, 40.2.

Costume

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90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*, 50. a1.
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100. *Ibid.*, 52.a1.
101. *Ibid.*, 29.3; Also see page 58 from Motichandra's book, *Costumes, Textiles, Cosmetics and Coiffures in the Ancient and Medieval period* (Delhi, 1973).
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CHAPTER FOUR

Personal Ornaments

Love for personal ornamentation is innate in human nature. To this, people of Sanchi could not have been an exception. The Sanchi reliefs depict males and females wearing ornaments irrespective of the status they held in the society. From their appearance, the ornaments used by the aristocratic persons and by those of commonalty look alike and perhaps, they differed in the material with which they were made.

“So happy is the architecture of the human form” says Hiler, “that the very places where the ornament naturally fitted were probably the best of all places which could have been found.”¹ These place generally, are the forehead, the ear, the, nose, the neck, the arm, the wrist, the fingers, the thigh, the hips and the leg. To these places, are added sometimes, the junction of the thorax and the abdomen and the breasts. This order has been followed while studying the different ornaments of the body sculptured in the reliefs.

I. HEAD ORNAMENTS (MASTAKA BHŪṢAṆAS)

As most of the male and female figures of the Sanchi reliefs wear head dresses, no separate ornaments for the head can be seen except what appear on the head dress itself. These head dresses, besides being a protection for the head, served as an ornament of the head or *mastakābharāṇa* or *mastakabhūṣaṇa*.

Of the various devices that adorned the head-dress, the head-band or *agra* or *lalāta paṭṭa* deserves special attention. The Sanchi reliefs portray two types of this ornament—the head-band as an integral part of the head dress and secondly, as a separate ornament.

(i) *Head-band as an integral part of the head-dress*

As an integral part of the head-dress this ornament, generally of a strip of thin material, either of cloth or metal was decorated with one or two rows of pearls, gems or beads. The use of the head-band with a pendant slinging from its centre as could be seen from the reliefs appears to be the exclusive priviledges of the females. Thus, the *agrapaṭṭa* worn by the female attendant (*prāsādika*) in the scene² illustrating the “Viśvantara jāṭaka” consists of a row of pearls or beads with a pendant hanging from the centre on the forehead (*Pl. 36*). Sometimes, the *lalātapāṭṭa* devoid of pendant (*Pl. 9c*) also adorned the head dress of the lasses of the high class society as can be known from the ornament worn by a queen.³ The head-band consists of a row of pearls or beads, without the central pendant. This type of head-band, being the favoured ornament appears also in the head-dresses of the female attendants and goat riders. The scene⁴ depicting “the transportation of the turban”, portrays female attendant wearing the head-band as an integral part of the head-dress but without pendant. It consists of a row of pearls or beads (*Pl. 10c*). Two goat riders⁵ (male and female) appear in the relief with an *agrapaṭṭa* consisting of a row of large pearls of beads (*Pl. 38*). The size of the pearls or beads are comparatively large in size to those described above.

This type of ornament was also used by the males as is evident from the reliefs, but in a different manner. In this case, the head-band consisted of a row of beads decorating the lower fringe or skirt of the head-dress, but without pendant. Thus, in the panel⁶ depicting “Indra’s visit” (*Pl. 47a*), group of *Devas* appear with an *agrapaṭṭa* in the fashion described above. Precisely, similar type of head-band is again met with in the scene⁷ depicting “Aśoka’s visit to the *Bodhi* tree” (*Pl. 5c*). A court dwarf is shown wearing it.

(ii) *Head-band as a detached ornament*

The head-band as a detached ornament occurs in the reliefs more than once. This ornament, in this capacity, consisted of one or more strings, instead of the strip of the cloth (as found in the case of those forming an integral part of the head-dress) of pearls gems or beads.

A head-band as a detached ornament and consisting only of a row of beads (*Pl. 28c*) is to be met with in the case of Māyā carved on the Western gateway.⁸ A clear and precisely similar example of this type of ornament can be seen again elsewhere⁹ as worn by Māyā.

A new type of head-band occurs as worn by a dwarf.¹⁰ He wears around his head what looks like a spray or wreath which was a very common ornament in the classical world (*Pl. 32c*). It is totally absent in an early Indian art with the solitary exception of that worn by a palace maid depicted in an early painting at Ajanta.¹¹ Again, another appears with different type of detached head-band. He is seen wound round his head with a ribbon or a piece of cloth. This type of head-band (namely, ribbon or piece of cloth) appears to be of classical origin.

The head-band which occurs in the Sanchi reliefs in two capacities has both utilitarian and decorative value. In the primitive head-dress, the head-band was very important. "It", says Hiler, "not only serves the function of keeping the hair out of the eye, but supports all manners of decoration and is also used to hold sundry small articles such as arrows or even a boomrang."¹² This purpose of holding the hair by the head-band is easily understood from the detached head-bands of our reliefs.

(iii) *Forehead ornament*

As it can be seen from the reliefs, the forehead ornament, generally consisted of a disc, suspended from the parting of the hair (*śimanta*) by means of a chain, which however is not seen in many cases because of the elaborate head-dress. Being the most favoured ornament, this ornament is found in many classes of women irrespective of the position they held in the society. Thus, female

attendants, female devotees, female standard-bearers, ladies committing *dohada* etc., are seen wearing this ornament in the reliefs.¹³ However, a clear example of the forehead ornament can be seen as worn by a female standard-bearer.¹⁴ She is shown wearing a disc pendant suspended probably, by menas of a chain, on the forehead. In two instances fasten-leaf (*patrapāśya*) appears as a forehead ornament. A lady in *dohada*¹⁵ appears with this type of forehead ornament. Again, an excellent example of *patrapāśya* can be seen on the forehead of a lady.¹⁶

Such forehead ornaments are very common in the Sūṅga,¹⁷ Sātavāhana,¹⁸ Gandhāra¹⁹ and Kushāṇa²⁰ art. Several designs and shapes of this ornament can be discernible in the paintings of Ajanta.²¹ In literature, references to them are in plenty. *Chantula tilka* mentioned by Bāṇa²² in the *Harṣacarita* a beautiful circular ornament suspended by a golden chain centrally near the *śimanta* or the parting of the hair, can very well be seen in the ornaments depicted in the reliefs. *Lalāṭikā*, like *Chantula tilaka*, a forehead ornament is referred to by Pāṇini²³ and Amara²⁴. The *lalāṭikā* "forehead piece" and "*patrapāśya*" "the fasten-leaf" being the forehead ornaments, were found sometimes, seen on the foreheads. Again, the *Rāmāyaṇa*²⁵ speaks of the gold ornament *tilaka* worn on the forehead as a mark of beauty. It is interesting to note that forehead ornament very similar to *lalāṭikā* is still in use particularly, in North India where it is known as *bindī*. But, the common name is *bena* and when the piece is very small it is called *bindī* or spot.

Further, the frequent occurrence of the forehead ornaments worn by the females in the reliefs may indicate the prevalence of the custom of putting on *lalāṭikas* on the foreheads by the women as is even now the practice with the modern married Mārṇwādi woman. It is the practice today that the married Mārṇwādi ladies put on *borla* compulsorily on every auspicious occasion. This disc-pendant is later replaced by a big jewel (*śimanta-cuḍāmaṇi*).

II. EAR ORNAMENTS (KARNA BHŪṢANAS)

The Sanchi reliefs illustrate considerable variety of ear-ornaments. But, due to their small size and sometimes owing to the indistinct, rough representations, it becomes difficult to ascertain their exact shape. In ancient Sānskrit literature, numerous ear-ornaments, each with a distinct name are copiously mentioned and some of them are found curiously represented in the reliefs. Generally, the ear-ornaments are attached to the helix or the ear-lobe. The variety of ear ornaments, found in the reliefs comprise—(i) Circular metal ring; (ii) Square-shaped ear-ornament; (iii) A metal ball or a big gem; (iv) A disc-shaped ear-ornament; (v) A half-blown flower of metal; (vi) and Ear-ornament resembling the inverted pericap of the lotus; (vii) Tulip flower shaped or funnel shaped ear-ornament; (viii) An ear-ornament of string of pearls or beads; (ix) A metal ring with a group of pearls or bead strings; (x) A spiral like metal ring; (xi) A bud-shaped ear-ornament; (xii) A leaf or a piece of wood as ear-ornament; (xiii) A cylindrical or tubular ear-ornament.

(i) *A circular metal ring*

A simple ring (*Pl. 24c*) probably, of gold is seen worn by Mādri in the scene²⁶ depicting “the Viśvantara jātaka”. Mādri occurs in this scene thrice with this type of ear-ornament. Similar ear-rings of gold are reported from ancient sites. It is interesting to note that such type of ear-ornaments are presently used in many parts of the country and are known as *bāli*. The name is apparently derived from the Sanskrit *bālikā*.

Sometimes, that this metal ring was inset with gems can be known from the scene²⁷ illustrating the “Great Miracle of the *Sambodhi*”. A male drummer is shown wearing this type of ear-ornament. It is a metal ring inset with gem in the centre (*Pl. 39a*). Again, crescentic ear-rings appear in the reliefs more than once. Being the favoured ear-ornament, it is commonly illustrated in the reliefs as worn by dwarfs, kings, devotees, bull-riders, ladies in *dohada* etc. However, the best example of the crescent shaped metal

ring can be seen in the ear of dwarf depicted on the Western gateway.²⁸ That this type of ear-ornament was used by the royalty can be known from the king illustrated in the scene depicting "the First Sermon in the deer park". A king is shown wearing crescent ear-ring is again met with in the ear of lady committing *dohada*. Her beautiful crescentic ear ring is remarkable.

The material with which the *kuṇḍalas* under discussion were made was probably, of some metal. It is quite usual that when it was used by the king and other royal persons, it was of gold (*hiraṇmayam kuṇḍalam*). In all probability, these crescent shaped ear-rings may represent *mṛsta kuṇḍalas* (or Pali, *maṭṭha kuṇḍalas*) mentioned in the *jātakas*.²⁹ Parallel examples of this ornament can be seen in the sculptures of Amarāvati,³⁰ Nāgārjunakoṇḍā³¹, Goli,³² Udayagiri³³ etc.

Outside India, ear-ornaments were found as early as in the Cypro-Mycenasean jewellery (1400-100 B.C.) and they lingered on through the ages.³⁴

(ii) *Square shaped ear-ornament*

The most favoured ear-ornament appears to be a squarish ear-ornament made of gold with or without a full blown lotus carved on it, the stalk of which is twice curled over the ear-lobe and then hung freely. It is seen in the reliefs frequently worn by men and women testifying to its popularity, during the period under study. The Gods, kings, princes, male and female devotees, queens, female attendants, *nāginis*, *nāgarājas*, *kinnaras*, *yakshas*, *chāmaradhārīṇis*, musicians, Māra, Indra, appear in the reliefs with this ornament. However, an excellent example of this type of ear-ornament can be seen in the case of a *yaksha*.³⁵ A lotus stalk is seen curled twice to form the ear-ring and then terminates in a full blown lotus on the top (*Pl. 20*). Precisely, a similar ear-ornament is seen in the ears of Māra depicted in the scene illustrating "Māra's army"³⁶ (*Pl. 24b*). The king Viśvantara" also wears this type of ear-ornament as seen in the panels³⁷ depicting the "Viśvantara *jātaka*". In the reliefs, this type of ornament is found in almost all the sections of the society except dwarfs and demons of the Māra's army. The artist has meticulously seen that nowhere these two

categories appear with the type of ornament described above.

This square shaped ear-ornament has been identified as *karna-veṣṭana* by Sivaramamurti,³⁸ while Agrawala³⁹ takes it to be the *mṛnāla kuṇḍala*.

In art, *karna veṣṭana* appears in the sculptures of Barhut,⁴⁰ Jaggayyapeta,⁴¹ Udayagiri,⁴² Karle,⁴³ Kanheri,⁴⁴ Amarāvati,⁴⁵ Mathura⁴⁶ and in the paintings of Ajanta⁴⁷. But one interesting feature is that the *karna veṣṭana* which occurs profusely in the early sculptures of Sanchi and Amarāvati, the Sātavāhana art centres are totally absent at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Sometimes, certain ornaments mentioned in the Sānskrit literature have their representations in the nearby contemporary sculptures and paintings. There after, they go out of use and disappear both from sculptural and literary focus. It is quite probable that the ear ornament *karna-veṣṭana* like *phalaka-hāra* had gone out of focus from both literary and sculptural references from 2nd century A.D. onwards, hence its disappearance from the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

(iii) *A metal ball or a big gem*

The best example of this type of ear-ornament can be seen adorning the ear-lobe of the dwarf (*Pl. 32c*) depicted on the Southern gateway.⁴⁸ A big gem is shown adorning the ear-lobe of the dwarf. Precisely, similar type of decoration is again to be seen in the ear of the demon of the Māra's army.⁴⁹ In description it tallies exactly with the one described above.

Sometimes, male devotees appear in the relief with a metal ball probably set with gems. Thus, the male devotee⁵⁰ carved on the Southern gateway reveals a metal ball presumably decked with gems in his ears (*Pl. 40*). The ear-ornaments set with gems are mentioned by Hāla in his *Gāthā Saptāśati*⁵¹. It is probable that the ear-ornament of a metal ball set with gems or a big gem can be the *ratna kuṇḍalas* or *maṇi kuṇḍalas*.

(iv) *A disc shaped ear-ornament*

This ear-ornament is seen in the reliefs in the ears of kings, male

and female devotees, mahuts, demons of the Māra's army etc. In the scene⁵² depicting Māra's army, a demon of the Māra's army appears with this type of ear-ornament. It is a disc shaped metal ear-ornament (Pl. 24b). Again, an excellent example of a disc-shaped or pulley shaped ear-ornament (Pl. 5c) can be seen adorning the ears of the king Aśoka in the scene⁵³ depicting "Aśoka's visit to the *Bodhi* tree". The ear-ornaments are made to hung from the ear-lobes.

That this ornament was favoured most by the male and female devotees can be known from their frequent sculptural depictions.⁵⁴ Thus, the scene⁵⁵ illustrating "the *Bodhi*-druma worship", reveals a female devotee with a disc-shaped ear-ornament. Exactly similar type of ear-ornament is again seen within the ears of a male devotee illustrated in the panel depicting "*Bodhi*-druma worship", elsewhere.⁵⁶

It may be that the *taṭaṅka cakras* mentioned in ancient literature, may well be this kind of ear-ornament.

The disc-shaped ear-ornament reveals a close similarity to the one from the Mārkaṇḍa tank in Puri as noticed by Rajendra Lal Mitra⁵⁷. According to him, it is the representation of the ornament, *dheñri* known in Bengal. It was probably, of gold as the *dheñri* is in Bengal. It is interesting to note that many ancient sites have yielded disc-shaped or pulley shaped ear ornaments from the Sātavāhana levels and later periods. It is reported that disc-shaped ear-ornaments of terracotta, ivory and shell have been recovered from the excavations at Dharaṇikoṭa, ancient Dhanyakataka, the capital of the Sātavāhana kings.⁵⁸ Again, disc-shaped ear-ornaments of ivory are also available at Begram in Afghanistan.⁵⁹ Similar ornaments of terracotta also occur from the sites like Kondapur⁶⁰ and Salihundam⁶¹ in Andhra Pradesh. Further, Arrian also refers to such ear-ornaments made of ivory.⁶²

In Indian art, close parallels of the disc-shaped ear-ornaments are seen in the sculptures of Barhut⁶³, Bhaja⁶⁴, Karle⁶⁵, Amarāvati⁶⁶, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa⁶⁷, Goli⁶⁸, Mathura⁶⁹ and the early paintings of Ajanta⁷⁰.

It is of interest to note that the disc-shaped ear-ornaments more elaborate than those depicted in the sculptures, can be seen in Attic

(8th century B.C.), classical (600-330 B.C.) and early Etruscan (700-400 B.C.) ear rings.⁷¹

(v) *A half-blown flower of metal*

This variety of ear-ornament has the appearance of a half-blown flower and is seen generally, in the ears of kings, queens, *nāgarāja*, male devotees etc. Thus, the queen Saci depicted in the panel⁷² illustrating "Indra's ride", reveals the best example of this type of ear-ornament (*Pl. 9c*). Again, another queen depicted on the west pillar of the Southern gateway⁷³ appears exactly with similar type of ear-ornament. Elsewhere⁷⁴, a *nāgarāja* also occurs with this kind of ear-ornament.

In all probability this ornament may represent the *puspa-kunḍalas* or the modern *karnaphūl*. When this ornament consists of full blown lotus pattern, it may represent, *kanaka-kamala* mentioned by Kālidāsa⁷⁵. As pointed out by Sivaramamurti⁷⁶ the name and pattern have survived to the present day in the *kammals* worn by the South Indian women. They are known as *kammalu* in Telugu and are worn very commonly, by the women of Āndhra Pradesh.

(vi) *An ear-ornament resembling the inverted pericap of the lotus*

This ear-ornament resembles the pericap of the lotus turned upside down. The pericap of the lotus is called *karnikā*. According to Pāṇini⁷⁷ the jewel modelled after it is *karnikā*. A clear example of this ornament can be seen adorning the ear of palace maid carved on the Southern gateway⁷⁸ (*Pl. 40*). That this type of ear-ornament was used by the children can be known from the scene depicting Viśvantara jātaka. It is noteworthy that such type of ear ornaments are seen in the ears of children even to this day. The modern *jimiki* (or *jhumki* of North India) worn by the ladies of South India is the survival of *Karnikā*. In art, the parallel examples of this are to be seen in the sculptures of Amarāvati⁷⁹, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa⁸⁰ and Gandhāra⁸¹.

(vii) *Tulip flower shaped or funnel-shaped ear-ornament*

A fine example of this fashion of ear-ornament is seen adorning the ear of *Yakshi*⁸². She is shown wearing a long tubular tulip-shaped

or funnel-shaped ear-ornament. Again, a precisely similar type of ear-ornament can be seen adorning the ear of hunter⁸³ depicted in the panel illustrating “Viśvantara jātaka”.

(viii) *An ear-ornament of a string of pearls or beads*

A dwarf carved on the Southern gateway⁸⁴ offers this type of ear-ornament. His ear-ornament comprises a string (*sroni-sūtra*)⁸⁵ of beads of pearls worn in the ear-lobe (*Pl. 32c*). In art, parallel examples of this, we get in the Gandhāra sculptures⁸⁶.

(ix) *A metal ring with a group of pearls or bead strings*

This kind of ear-ornament comprises a large ring of some metal from which is suspended a group of strings of pearls or beads. A *chāmaradhārīṇi* depicted in the scene⁸⁷ illustrating “Aśoka’s visit to the Bodhi tree”, offers an excellent example of this kind of ear-ornament (*Pl. 5c*). The strings have tasselled terminals which rest on the shoulders. This ear-ornament may represent *vallikā* mentioned in the *Cullavagga*⁸⁸ or the later *bālīka* of Bāṇa⁸⁹. The exact parallels of this ornament occur at Amarāvati,⁹⁰ Kanheri,⁹¹ Mathura,⁹² Nāgārjunakoṇḍa⁹³ and Gandhāra⁹⁴.

(x) *A spiral-like metal ring*

The best example of this spiral like metal ring can be seen adorning the ear-lobe of the dwarfs depicted on the Western gateway.⁹⁵ Precisely, a similar ear-ornament can be seen⁹⁶ in the ear of kinnara depicting the scene return to Kapilavastu. This ornament may be the incipient proto-type of the later elaborate *sarpa-kunḍala* mentioned in the Sānskrit literature. In art parallel examples of the Sanchi specimen can be seen in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,⁹⁷ Jaggayyapeta,⁹⁸ Mathura,⁹⁹ Gandhāra¹⁰⁰ and in the caves of Pitalkhora,¹⁰¹ Karli¹⁰² and Bhaja¹⁰³. The recent excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have yielded a pair of spiral ear rings of gold from a megalith.¹⁰⁴

Outside India, ear-rings of this type occur in about 700 B.C. at Sinjerli which had Syrian origin.¹⁰⁵ This type was very popular in Rhodes and is also found in Eastern Greece.¹⁰⁶ They lingered on to the classical period (600-330 B.C.) with regional varieties.¹⁰⁷

The prevalence of this ornament outside India even long before it had its representation in India indicates its possible foreign origin and it is quite likely that this ornament was introduced to India by the Romans at Sanchi. It is a well-known fact that India had Indo-Roman trade contacts about the beginnings of the Christian era. The trade was flourishing during Augustus regime which was almost contemporaneous with the execution of the Sanchi reliefs. This would explain the representation of Roman objects at Sanchi.

(xi) *A bud-shaped ear-ornament*

This ornament occurs more than once in the reliefs. A male worshipper depicted in the scene¹⁰⁸ illustrating "the Transportation of the Gautam's turban" wears this type of ear-ornament. Again, a bowman represented in the panel¹⁰⁹ revealing "Viśvantara Jātaka" appears with a similar kind of ear-ornament (*Pl. 17a*). The ornament is very much akin to the present day *lolakulu*¹¹⁰ of South India.

(xii) *A leaf or a piece of wood as ear-ornament*

Sometimes, people of the Sātavāhana period used a tree-leaf or a small strip of tinted palm leaf (*tāla patra*) or a piece of wood as ear ornaments can be known from the representations in the Sanchi reliefs. In the reliefs, queens, bull riders and riders of mythical animals appear with this type of ear-ornaments.¹¹¹ Thus, the queen of the king Aśoka represented in the scene illustrating, "Aśoka's visit to the *Bodhi* tree"¹¹² wears a small strip of palm leaf (probably tinted) as her ear-ornament (*Pl. 5c*). A best example of this type of ear-ornament can be seen in the ears of the demon of Māra's army illustrated on the Northern gateway. The ear-ornament may be either a tree-leaf or a strip of palm-leaf (*Pl. 24b*). A slightly different variety of ear ornament is seen adorning the ears of riders of the mythical animals depicted on Western gateway.¹¹³ In this case the ear-ornament appears to be a piece of wood (*Pl. 39*). Somewhat similar varieties of ear-ornament is again met with in the ears of a demon represented in the scene¹¹⁴ revealing Māra's army. In this case the ear-ornament which is a tassel has a flattened terminal as shown in the illustration (*Pl. 24b*).

This type of ear-ornament is fairly common in early period. It appears to have been derived from the primitive custom of adorning the ear with a piece of wood or tree leaves. A small strip of tinted palm-leaf (*tāla patra*) was the simplest ornament in ancient times. It was probably, copied in precious materials in the later period and used as an ear-ornament which would have been the same type of ear-ornaments described above. The Sanchi examples may therefore be identified as *patrāṅkura* type of ear-ornament mentioned in the Sanskrit literature. It is interesting to note that some of the lower classes in South India still wear actual palm-leaf scrolls in their ears.

(xiii) *A cylindrical or tubular ornament*

A cylindrical ear-ornament is seen adorning the ear of a king carved on the Western gateway.¹¹⁵ It is provided with a curved attachment for suspension. Again, a hunter represented in the scene¹¹⁶ revealing “Viśvantara jātaka” offers a similar type of ear-ornament. This ear-ornament may represent in all probability, *karṇotakilaka* mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

That the people were in the habit of wearing different types of ear-ornaments in their ears can be known from the Sanchi representations. Thus, a male stag-rider appears on the Southern gateway¹¹⁷ with two types of ear-ornaments. He wears a *pushpa-kunḍala* in his right ear while his left ear is adorned with *karnaveṣṭana*. Similarly, the combination of half-blown flower ear-ornament (*pushpa-kunḍala*) and *tātaṅka chakra* ear-ornament can also be seen in the reliefs.

In literature, the *Gāthāsaptasatī*¹¹⁸ speaks of ear-ornaments set with precious gems. The *Cullavagga*¹¹⁹ and the *Vinaya*¹²⁰ texts refer to the ear-ornament *Vallikā* and the same interestingly gets represented in the Sanchi reliefs. The *Jātakas*¹²¹ speak of crescent shaped ear-ornament, *mrsta-kunḍalas* or Pali *maṭṭha kunḍalas* at several places. The *Chilappathikāram*¹²² informs of an actress who wore ear-rings set alternately with large diamonds and sapphires.

Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*, stipulates the ear-ornaments to be used by males and females. Thus, the ear-ornaments of the males¹²³ include *kunḍala* (ear-rings), *mocaka* (ear-pendant), *kīla* (ear-top), while

the ear-ornaments for the females¹²⁴ include *kuṇḍala*, *mocaka*, *karṇikā*, *karṇavalaya*, *patra-karṇikā*, *karṇamudrā*, *karṇotkilaka*, *dantapatra*, *karṇapūra* etc.

Kālidāsa¹²⁵ mentions in his *kāvya*s the ear-ornaments like *kuṇḍala*, *karṇapūra*, *maṇikuṇḍala* and *kanaka kamalas*. Bāṇa¹²⁶ in his *Harṣacarita* refers to the ear-ornaments like *karṇapūraka*, *bālika*, *karṇotpala*, *maṇikarṇikā*. Bāṇa is specific about some of the ear-ornaments of his day. In his *Kādambarī*¹²⁷ a reference is made to an ear-ornament called *taraṅgaka* set with a precious ruby.

III. NECK ORNAMENTS (KAṆṬHABHUṢAṆ [S])

The neck ornaments represented in the reliefs are many and appear on persons of all ranks. Broadly, two categories of neck ornaments namely, the necklaces (*hāras*) and the necklets (*kaṇṭhis*) are discernible. The necklaces are understood to be those which are worn loosely and freely around the neck, while the necklets can be distinguished as those which fit the neck very closely.

The reliefs depict almost all women except the village women and those of the hermitages, wearing neck ornaments. Evidently, this was due to the reason that the economic status of the commonalty did not afford them to own ornaments profusely and luxuriantly.

Some of the men in the reliefs are also seen wearing neck-ornaments. The adornment of male need not be in anyway detrimental to his masculinity. In fact, such embellishment is a necessary adjunct for emphasising his taste for beauty, aesthetics and courage. It is therefore, the king who in the reliefs, generally, appears with a neck-ornament whether he is in the harem or in the prayer, or in the procession or on war.

However, the importance of the necklace in relation to clothing cannot be underestimated. Interestingly, the reliefs at times, portray *uttariyas* rolled and worn round the neck, in the manner of a necklace.

The necklaces also have social and religious significance. The heavy necklace of charm (*aṣṭa-maṅgalaka-hāra*) which the reliefs portray has a special significance by the virtue of the auspicious character that is associated with them.

However, the necklaces represented in the reliefs range from a simple string of bead (*kaṇḍidaka*) to the most elaborate ones, composed of locket, probably of gold with a collet in the centre, encasing gem. In some cases, group of chains or cords with terminals are seen adorning the necks. In a few other cases, metallic necklaces are found worn by the people belonging to the different sections of the society. The necklaces are found on the necks of both males and females.

As regards the material with which neck ornaments were made it is difficult to know from the reliefs. But, as for the beads or pearls or gems found in the necklaces, they are of spherical, ovoidal, globular shapes. In the case of metallic necklaces, the plaques seem to be curved or cornered.

The varieties of neck-ornaments, sculptured are described as under :

- (i) *A necklace of one string or row of beads (akṣhamāla) or pearls (muktāvali) or gems (lalantika)*

This kind of necklace seemed to have been very popular as is evident from its prolific depictions in the reliefs. It is seen adorning the necks of the queens, female attendants, *chāmaradhārinis*, female devotees, amorous ladies etc., indicating thereby its restricted use by the ladies in the reliefs.

Thus, the *chāmaradhāriṇi* depicted in the scene¹²⁸ revealing "Viśvantara jātaka" wears a necklace of this type. The globular beads or pearls were probably bored in the middle and threaded closely. The beads or pearls of the necklace are of uniform size (*Pl. 36*) and thus, it may represent *avaghātaka* type of necklace, mentioned by Kautilya in his *Arthaśāstra*¹²⁹ and *ekāvali* of Bāṇa¹³⁰ described in his *Harṣacarita*. Precisely, similar type of *ekāvali* is again, met with in the neck of the queen of Viśvantara depicted in the panel¹³¹ revealing "the Viśvantara jātaka" (*Pl. 33a*).

A female depicted in the scene¹³² revealing “*Bodhi-druma* worship” offers a slightly different type of necklace (*Pl. 43*). She is shown in this case wearing an *ekāvali* with a long cylindrical bead (*nāyakamaṇi*) in the centre which is usually blue in colour. It is possibly, a lapislazuli or in some cases sapphire. This necklace may be *yaṣṭi* type of necklace known to Kauṭilya.

Another fine example of *yaṣṭi* type of necklace can be seen adorning the neck of a lady¹³³ in *dohada*. She is shown wearing a necklace of a single string of beads or gems (*ekāvali*). These seem to have holes at the top through which a string passed. In the centre of the string is a locket of trapizoidal shape with a globular gem embodied in its centre.

Elsewhere, a female horse rider¹³⁴ wears a necklace of still different type. She is shown wearing a necklace of ovoidal beads or pearls, closely threaded. All the beads of the *ekāvali* are of uniform size with a bigger one (*nāyakamaṇi*) in the centre. This may represent *śīrshaka* type of necklace mentioned by Kauṭilya.¹³⁵

Again, a female attendant depicted in the panel¹³⁶ illustrating “the Viśvantara jātaka”, offers an *ekāvali* as her necklace, but slightly in different manner. In this case, *ekāvali* is having of gradually diminishing size with one bigger in the centre (*Pl. 36*). This may probably, represent the *prakāṇḍaka* variety of the *Arthaśāstra*.

Sometimes, lady in *dohada* appears with different type of necklace as seen on Northern and Eastern gateways.¹³⁷ She is shown wearing a necklace of one string of pearls but composed together with gold globules (*Pl. 17b*). In all probability, this necklace may represent *ratnāvali* of Kauṭilya.

At times, the *ekāvali* was worn in altogether a different fashion can be known from the female of the amorous couple depicted on one of the pillars of Western gateway.¹³⁸ She is shown wearing an *ekāvali* in an *upavīta* fashion but in *apasavya* (*Pl. 14b*).

It is noteworthy that *ekāvalis* are very common in Sanchi¹³⁹. Udayagiri,¹⁴⁰ Karli,¹⁴¹ Amarāvati,¹⁴² Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,¹⁴³ Mathura,¹⁴⁴ Begram¹⁴⁵ etc. Particularly at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, *ekāvali* replaces the

phalakahāra which is profusely present at Sanchi and Amarāvati. However, *ekāyali* continues to have its popularity at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mathura and becomes extremely common in Vākataka-Gupta period as can be seen from its frequent depiction in the paintings of Ajanta.¹⁴⁶

(ii) *A necklace of group of strings or rows of beads or pearls or gems*

A Mahut (*hastipaka*) carved on Northern gateway¹⁴⁷ offers a necklace of two string or rows of beads or pearls. It is without any central gem or *maṇi* (Pl. 34b). Elsewhere,¹⁴⁸ a dwarf appears with a different type of necklace. In this case, the necklace is composed of three string or rows of pearls or beads devoid of central locket. This necklace may well represent *trīṣa* or *muktikahāra* of *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Another *muktikahāra* can be seen adorning the neck of a male depicted on Northern gateway¹⁴⁹. Further, the dwarf illustrated on Southern gateway offers a necklace composed of four strings or rows of beads or pearls. Precisely, similar necklace of four strings of beads can be seen adorning the neck of a male carved on Southern gateway¹⁵⁰ (east end).

(iii) *Phalaka-hāra*

This type of necklace is a heavy necklace composed of number of strings of either beads or pearls with spacers at regular intervals. The spacers are squarish or rectangular in shape and because of their slab-like appearance these necklaces justify the appellation *Phalaka-hāra*. Kauṭilya while enumerating the different types of necklaces refers to the *dvi-phalaka*, *tri-phalaka* and the *pañcha-phalaka hāras* i.e., those having either two or three or five spacers as detailed by Kauṭilya.¹⁵¹ Sometimes, the spacers are embossed with a rosette pattern in the relief.

An excellent example of *dvi-phalaka hāra* is seen adorning the neck of an yaksha¹⁵² depicted on the Northern and Eastern gateways (Pl. 66). Again, a dwarf illustrated on the Western gateway¹⁵³ offers a *phalaka-hāra* slightly in different manner. In this case, the *phalaka-hāra* has a gem encased in a circular collet in the centre.

The *phalaka hāra* was a very popular necklace as is evident from their frequent depiction in the relief. All classes of people irrespective of their status in the society appear in the reliefs with this type of necklace. In art, it frequently occur in the sculptures of Barhut,¹⁵⁴ Amarāvati¹⁵⁵, Karli¹⁵⁶ Mathura.¹⁵⁷ However, its popularity reached the zenith during Sātavāhana period as is evident from their frequent depiction at Amarāvati and Sanchi. But, at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa it is totally absent. Like *karnaveṣṭana*, this *phalaka-hāra* also totally disappears from the literary and the sculptural focus at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

(iv) *Channavīra in the vaikakshaka fashion*

The sculptural representation of the *channavīra vaikakshaka* at Sanchi is realistic. In early sculptures, *channavīra*¹⁵⁸ meaning “protect warrior” retains its literal meaning as it refers to the *vaikakshaka* of the warrior whose torso it protects. *Channavīra* may otherwise mean “warrior-controlled” implying that the wearer has control over the combating warriors. It may also mean that he has “concealed his valour” or controlled valour. However, the object is essentially of the military origin. When this ornament is present on the woman’s person it is essentially ornamental and is known as *hema-vaikakshaka*.

The *channavīra* in the *vaikakshaka* fashion appears in the Sanchi reliefs. The dwarf depicted on the Western gateway¹⁵⁹ offers an excellent example of this type. He is shown wearing an ornament composed of the bejewelled bands crossing each other on the chest. The bands or chains seem to have been issued from the ornamental rosette shaped plaque. A similar plaque in the centre serves as a spacer (Pl. 31c). The demons of Māra’s army depicted on the Northern gateway¹⁶⁰ reveal *Channavīra* of similar kind. In this case also the *vaikakshakas* are provided with ornamental discs embossed with full blown lotus flower.

Another example of the *channavīra* comes from the camel rider depicted on the Eastern gateway.¹⁶¹ The cross-belt probably of leather is simple and devoid of any clasps as seen above (Pl. 19c). Similar is the case with the cross-belts worn by the bowmen illustrated in the panel¹⁶² representing the “Śyāma jātaḥ”.

The *vaikakshaka* seen on the lady in *dohada* portrayed on the Northern gateway¹⁶³ is slightly different. In this case, the two chains presumably of gold are not crossing each other but are passing through the central round plaque tangentially. In another instance¹⁶⁴ female is shown wearing two long chains with medallions slinging from the shoulders, crossing each other below the breasts.

In art, the sculptures of Barhut,¹⁶⁵ Pitalkhora,¹⁶⁶ Amarāvati,¹⁶⁷ Karli,¹⁶⁸ Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,¹⁶⁹ Mathura,¹⁷⁰ and ivories of Begram¹⁷¹ depict *channavīra-vaikakshaka*.

The cross-belts or cross-bands were known in the west, even before they made their appearance on the Indian soil. As early as in the 14th century B.C. some of the Egyptian male dancers wore double cross-belt.¹⁷² Again, the hunters and war charioteers depicted on the golden vessels from Ugarti assignable to middle Syrian period (14th century B.C.) wear cross-belts similar to those worn by the Egyptian dancers.¹⁷³ In neo-Assyrian period (8th century B.C.) the cross-belts appeared to have been extremely popular.¹⁷⁴ In the early centuries of the Christian era, the cross-belt was very much favoured by the Sassanid Persians.¹⁷⁵ In all probability, the Indians borrowed this object from the Persians with whom India came into contact with the invasion of Darius in the 5th century B.C. Hence their presence at Sanchi.

(v) *Aṣṭamaṅgalaka hāras*

This type of *hāras* are portrayed more than once¹⁷⁶ in the Sanchi sculptures. Two such *hāras* depicted on the pillars of the Northern gateway¹⁷⁷ have eleven and thirteen pendants respectively. Dr. V.S. Agrawala identifies the former *hāra* pendants as Sun, *śukra*, *padmasara*, *ankuśa*, *vaijayanṭī*, *pañkaja*, *mīna-mithuna*, *śrīvatsa*, *paraśu*, *darpaṇa*, and *kamala*. The latter was *amalakṅkuśa*, *kalpa-vṛkṣa*, *darpaṇa*, *śrīvatsa*, *vaijayanṭī*, *pañkaja*, *mīnayugula*, *paraśu*, *puspadāma*, *chhatra* and two other pendants which cannot be identified.¹⁷⁸ These pendants can be more appropriately called amulets and it is quite likely such necklaces were worn in those days with some specific purpose.

It is interesting to note that the pendants of the shapes described above have been discovered in the ancient sites of the early historical period and have been ascribed dates on the stratigraphical evidence. Thus, the axe (*paraśu*) and *ankuśa* pendants are very common in North Indian sites of the early historical period.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, one can see a striking resemblance between the *kalpavṛkṣa* and the ball pendant of agate from the Bhir mound of Taxila which is dated to 3rd century B.C.¹⁸⁰ The central amulet *pañkaja* appears to be only an elaborate form of *triratna*.¹⁸¹ Such *tri-ratna* pendants are common in ancient Indian sites and they have been found at Ter¹⁸² and Taxila¹⁸³. Taxila is also reported to have yielded a pendant which is not far removed typologically from the *darpaṇa* pendant in the *hāra*.¹⁸⁴ Similarly, the *sūrya* and *kamala* pendants are reminiscent of the similar beads in terracotta from Nevasa.¹⁸⁵

The *śukra* and *puṣpadāma* are almost identical in shape. They might, in all probability, be a specific variety of granular beads which are not altogether wanting at ancient sites.¹⁸⁶

These elaborate necklaces with pendants have special significance. Of these, eight auspicious symbols were common in the Kushana period and because of their number eight they were known as *aṣṭamaṅgalakas*, meaning thereby eight auspicious symbols. These occur on a *ayāgapāṭa* of the Kushana period from Mathura.¹⁸⁷ But they appear to have been used in the necklaces by people during early Śātavāhana period. But in this case number was eleven and thirteen as seen in the Sanchi sculptures. Apparently, the name *aṣṭamaṅgalaka māla* seems to have been coined later. Bana, who refers to such necklaces informs that it was worn by the chiefs in the Harṣa's army.¹⁸⁸

(vi) *A twisted gold cord, having terminals as heads of two monsters*

This interesting type of necklace appears in the reliefs more than once. Thus, Māra-putra¹⁸⁹ appears with this type of neck-ornament. It consists of two heads of monsters as terminals (*Pl. 24b*). Elsewhere,¹⁹⁰ a dwarf also appears with a similar type of ornament. But in this case, the figure is slightly mutilated. Parallel example of this

ornament we can see in the neck of Maitreya depicted in the Gandhāra sculpture.¹⁹¹

(vii) *Mallika-kutmala and jāji or jāti kusuma hāras*

A dwarf¹⁹² appears in the relief with two *hāras* in his neck. They are two different *hāras* worn one over the other. One of them is *mallika-kutmala hāra*. A parallel example of this can be seen also at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.¹⁹³ It is noteworthy that the present day ladies of Āndhra Pradesh wear such necklaces resembling the *mallika-kutmala hāra*.

The other *hāra* seen in his neck can be *hāra* made of *jāti* or *jāji kusuma*. The excavation at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa¹⁹⁴ yielded a gold necklace which has the resemblance of a *jāti* or *jāji kusuma hāra*. Such necklaces of gold resembling *jāji kusuma hāra* are current in Āndhra Pradesh today.

(viii) *Necklets or kaṇṭhis*

In the reliefs, the *kaṇṭhi* is understood to be that ornament which holds closely to the neck as opposed to the necklaces that are worn freely, at times extending upto the breasts.

The necklets, depicted in the reliefs invariably, comprise of metallic plaques, decorated with floral and other designs. Thus, a *yakṣa* depicted on a Western gateway pillar¹⁹⁵ wears a *kaṇṭhi*. It consists of a metallic circular plaque fringed with large spherical beads with tassels. These are alternated with that appears like clusters of pearl-strings (Pl. 27). Again, a *vyāla* rider¹⁹⁶ is shown wearing a metallic necklet having charming pearl tassels. In one instance¹⁹⁷ lady of the amorous couple appears with different kind of necklet. In this case, the necklet is not a metallic plaque but a simple string of beads. Such kind of string beads (black in colour) is to be seen around the necks of the married ladies of Āndhra Pradesh even to this day and it is known as *Nallapūsala hāramu*. Probably, the custom that married lady should wear a string of black beads¹⁹⁸ is current in Āndhra Pradesh, Mysore and Mahārāstra states.

A dwarf¹⁹⁹ appears in the relief with a necklet. It is a metallic plaque containing a herring bone design on its exterior. A different kind of decoration is met with on the necklets of a dwarf carved on the Southern gateway.²⁰⁰ The necklet is a circular metallic plaque with a lotus design on its exterior. Further, the edge of the metallic plaque is having oblique slashes (*Pl. 32c*). Two females carved on the pillar of Southern gateway offer yet another variety of necklet. Here, the circular metallic plaques are studded with rows of precious stones (*Pl. 10b*).

However, an elaborate *kan̥thi* is seen worn by an atlantes²⁰¹. It consists of curved piece of gold or plated gold which is decorated with rosettes and from which are suspended pendants composed of big spherical beads with drop pendants, these are alternated with what looks like pearl scrolls with tassels at their lower end. Somewhat parallel example of the *kan̥thi* is to be seen at Taxila which can be dated to the 1st century B.C.²⁰²

The neck ornaments are common both in art and literature. In literature, references to the necklaces are profuse and some of them do get their representation in our reliefs. Kauṭilya²⁰³ in his *Arthaśāstra*, speaks of necklaces like *śīrshaka*, *upa-śīrshaka*, *prakāṇḍaka*, *avaghātaka*, and *tarala pratibandha*. The number of strings comprising the necklace determined the nomenclature. They are known as *vijayacchanda*, *ardha-hāra*, *raśmikalāpa*, *guccha*, *nakshatramāla*, *ardha-guccha*, *mānavaka* and *ardhamānavaka*.

That which contains three slab-like gems (*triphalaka*) or five slab-like gems (*pañca-phalaka*) in the centre is termed *phalaka hāra*. One string of pearls is called *ekāvali*.²⁰⁴ The same with a gem in the centre is *yaṣṭi*. If it is varigated with gold globes, it is known as *ratnāvali*.

The *Gāthāsaptasatī*,²⁰⁵ as pointed out already, speaks of the *kan̥thikā*, a rich ornament set with precious stones like rubies and emeralds.

Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*²⁰⁶ prescribes the pearl necklace (*muktāvali*), the *harṣaka* and gold thread (*hema-sūtra*) as the neck

ornaments for the males.²⁰⁷ The neck ornaments of the females included pearl necklace, snake-row (*vyāla pañkti*), the *mañjarī*, the jewel string, the jewel necklace and the neck chain.²⁰⁸ Kālidāsa mentions necklaces like *nishka*, *muktāvali*, *tarahāra*, *hāra*, *hāra-sekhara* and *hārayaṣṭi*.²⁰⁹ Bāṇa²¹⁰ speaks of several ornaments worn by Mālatī.

Outside India, the early Greek and Roman jewellery was very rich in necklaces. In the Hellenistic period (330-27 B.C.), the strap necklaces and chain necklace were very popular. In the Roman period (27 B.C.-A.D. 400) the necklaces were varied, elaborate and artistic. Some of the popular necklaces like chain-shaped necklaces of the Hellenistic period continued in the Roman period.²¹¹ However, most of the Indian varieties appear to be of indigenous origin and conceptions.

IV. ARM ORNAMENTS (BĀHU BHŪṢAṆAS)

The arm ornaments comprise those worn on the upper arm, fore-arm, and the wrist. Thus, under the arm ornaments three categories of armlets namely, (i) upper arm ornaments or armlets (*keyūras*) or *aṅgadas*; (ii) bangles or *kañkaṇas* on the fore-arm; and (iii) bracelets or wristlets (*prakoṣṭha valayas*) can be made out from the reliefs and the same have been described below :

(i) Upper arm ornaments or armlets (*keyūras* or *aṅgadas*)

The depiction of the upper arms in the reliefs are very scanty. However, four varieties of the upper arm ornaments can be made out from the reliefs. They include (a) an armlet wrought with beaded pattern and edged in by one rim (b) armlet with three arch-like projections; (c) armlet with gem set square projection; (d) *keyūra* with raised bead and edged in by one rim.

(a) *An armlet wrought with beaded pattern and edged in by one rim* :—A king depicted on the Southern gateway²¹² offers an armlet with a beaded pattern edged in by a single rim on the upper and lower borders. The beads in the mid-portion of the ornaments are

ovoidal in shape. This ornament appears to be a hallow tube of some metal, with gold or silver, reduced to a circular shape. It is obvious, from the way it is closely fitting the upper arms, that it was not placed on the upper arms by inserting the hand through it. Presumably, it had a clasp and it was fitted round the upper arm with a screw.

(b) *An armlet with three arch-like projections* :—The solitary example of this variety is represented on the upper arms of dwarf.²¹³ The ornament is sculptured very distinctly, revealing the three arch-like projections (Pl. 32c).

(c) *An armlet with a gem set square projection* :—This again, is a different variety of *keyūra* and has been represented in the reliefs only once. A male devotee illustrated in the scene²¹⁴ depicting “the transportation of the Gautama’s head-dress”, is shown wearing this ornament. It is having square projection or crest with a gem inset (Pl. 10c).

(d) *Keyūra or aṅgada with raised band and edged in by one rim* :—The solitary example of this variety is represented on the upper arm of a female riding on horse. She is shown wearing an *aṅgada* with a raised band and edged in by a single rim on the upper and lower borders (Pl. 40a) as seen in the case of the armlet with beaded pattern.²¹⁵

Such upper ornaments are very common in early Indian art and appear in the sculptures of Bharhut in Madhya Pradesh, Amarāvati, Jaggayyapeta, Alluru, Gummadiidurru in Āndhra Pradesh, Karli and Kanheri in western India and in Mathura and other Kushana sculptures²¹⁶. It is interesting to note that the upper ornaments are very sparse or scanty at Sanchi. While early sculptures from Barhut, Jaggayyapeta and Amarāvati are prolific in the depiction of these *keyūras*, the Sanchi sculptures portray significantly less. This may probably be due to the local variations.

In the Pāli texts, the gem-set *keyūras* are known as *ovaṭṭikas*.²¹⁷ The chieftains and the wealthy land lords of the Saṅgam period wore massive armlets of gold.²¹⁸ Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*²¹⁹ prescribes the

keyūra (armlet) and the *aṅgada* (arm-band)²²⁰ as the ornaments for males to be worn above the elbow, and the arm-band (*aṅgada*) and the bangles (*valaya*) as the upper arm ornaments for females. Kālidāsa²²¹ speaks of the armlets, *aṅgadas* and *keyūras*.

(ii) *Bangles or kaṅkaṇas on the fore-arm*

Bangles for Indian women are sacred as they symbolize their *Saumangalya* (auspiciousness). Thus, in the *Gāthāsaptasatī*²²² the bangle is called *avidhavā lakṣaṇavalaya* (bangle indicating wife-hood). However, the Sanchi reliefs do not seem to differentiate as no woman is depicted in the relief without a bangle on her hand.

As seen from the relief, the bangles depicted on the hand are either small in which case they number from six to sixteen or broad ranging from three to four. It is interesting to note that the present day lambadis also wear bangles, from the wrist to the shoulder, gradually increasing in size.

Again, as regards the bangles, an interesting social custom prevails among the lambadi women. Speaking about the customs, Stuart²²³ writes, "Married women are distinguished from the unmarried in that that they wear their bangles between the elbow and shoulder, while the unmarried have them between the elbow and the wrist". It is noteworthy that in the Sanchi reliefs women both couples and otherwise appear invariably, wearing bangles from wrist to elbow. Apparently, this custom did not seem to be in vogue during the Sātavāhana period.

Dwarfs depicted on the Western gateway²²⁴ wear four bangles of equal size. They are piled one over the other. But in the case of a *hastipaka* depicted on the Eastern gateway,²²⁵ he wears four bangles of diminishing sizes. The bangle near the wrist is the smallest of the four, and the fourth, the uppermost, is the largest (*Pl. 41*).

In one instance, Nāgarāja and Nāginī appear with five bangles in each hand, piled one over the other. Similarly, wearing six bangles in each hand appeared to be popular as is evident from their frequent depictions on the reliefs. Thus, kings, female and male horse riders,

female and male devotees, dwarfs, *nāgarājas* appear in the reliefs as wearing six bangles in each of their hands. The king depicted in the "Viśvantara jāta" ²²⁶ wears six bangles in each of his hands (Pl. 36). Similarly, some of the female and male devotees depicted on the Northern gateway ²²⁷ reveal six bangles in each of their hands but in diminishing sizes. The bangle near the wrist is the smallest of the six and the sixth or the uppermost is the largest.

In some cases, eight bangles were worn in each hand. Thus, the *mahuts*, female devotees, *chāmaradhāriṇi*, queen Māyā, lady in *dohada* etc., appear in the reliefs with eight bangles in each of their hands. A clear example of this type of wearing bangles can be seen in a lady carved in the Northern gateway. ²²⁸ She is astriding on an elephant's head. She is shown wearing eight bangles in her each hand. They are seen piled one over the other (Pl. 17b). Elsewhere, ²²⁹ queen Māyā appears with eight bangles in each of her hand.

That some of them wore two bangles in each hand can be known from a queen depicted on the Southern gateway. ²³⁰ Again, a lady in *dohada* offers an excellent example of wearing ten bangles in each hand ²³¹ (Pl. 34). The ten bangles, piling one over the other on each hand is clearly sculptured.

Sometimes, twelve bangles in each hand were also worn as is evident from the *chatradhāriṇi* depicted on the Southern gateway. ²³² She is shown wearing twelve bangles in each hand (Pl. 10a). Again, a lady in *dohada* appears on the Northern gateway ²³³ with as many as sixteen bangles in each of her hand. They are extending fully from the wrist to the elbow, covering the entire fore-arm.

Thus, it can be seen that the males and females irrespective of their social status appear in the relief wearing bangles ranging in number from four to sixteen on their fore-arms. However, the bangles worn independently, by women and men appear to be simple and plain. Though it is not possible to visualise from the sculptures the material of the bangles, yet the copper, terracotta, ivory, shell or bone bangles reported to have been discovered from the Sātavāhana sites like Dharaṇīkota, Kondapur etc. It may be quite logical to deduce that the richer class wore gold and some other metal

bangles, while the poor satisfied themselves with terracotta and shell bangles.

In early Indian art, the sculptures of Barhut, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Goli, Mathura and Gandhāra depict men and women wearing exclusively on their fore-arms.²³⁴

In literature, *Gāthāsaptasatī* denotes the bangles as *avidhavā akshṇavalaya*.²³⁵ The *Dhammapada atṭhakathā* refers to bangles made of ivory.²³⁶ The Tamil poem "*Maduraikkanchi*" of the 1st-2nd century A.D. refers to the ancient cities Korkai and Kayal as great emporia for chank cutting industry.²³⁷ In the *Nāṭyaśāstra*,²³⁸ *valayas* as the ornaments of the upper arm and *vajura*²³⁹ and *Svecchitika* as the ornaments of the fore-arm for the females are mentioned.

(iii) Wristlets or *prakoṣṭha valayas*

The wristlet or *prakoṣṭhavalaya* with beaded pattern occurs in the Sanchi reliefs. They are seen worn by males and females, usually, two or three in each hand. An excellent example of a wristlet with beaded pattern can be seen in the hands of *yaksha* carved on Northern gateway.²⁴⁰ He is shown wearing two heavy bracelets of twisted wires and adorned with beads (Pl. 25). Precisely similar wristlets are seen adorning the hands of the *yakshas* carved on Eastern gateway.²⁴¹ They also wear two such heavy bracelets decorated with beads. Again, the dwarfs depicted on the Southern gateway²⁴² appear with two wristlets with beaded pattern edged in by single rim.

Sometimes, three wristlets of beaded pattern were worn as seen in the case of a *yaksha* carved on Northern gateway.²⁴³ In this case, he wears three heavy bracelets with beaded pattern and edged in by flat rim containing floral design (Pl. 32c). The bracelets are piled one over the other.

The wristlets are very common in both early Indian art and literature. They occur profusely in the sculptures of Śuṅga, Śātavāhana and Kushana periods.²⁴⁴ In literature, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*²⁴⁵, the wrist ornaments *rucika* and *uccitika* are prescribed for males. It is noteworthy, that in the early centuries of the Christian era several types of bracelets were known to the Roman world.²⁴⁶

V. WAIST ORNAMENTS OR GIRDLES

It is generally argued that clothing developed from the ornaments.²⁴⁷ Among the ornaments, it is more so with the girdles. In any case, says Hiler "the girdle developed into the breech, clout, kilt, trousers and skirt in one direction and the sword-belt and cuirass in the other".²⁴⁸ The Sanchi reliefs reveal the girdle, appearing as a separate ornament has a functional value also. It helps the garment to remain in position firmly to the waist. This idea of strength inherent in the girdle is possibly, indicated in our reliefs, when we find an *uttariya* or scarf tied round the waist. It is but a common sight that the people wear tight belts or tie round their waist the scarf firmly when engaged in a manual labour. It is usual in the case of the labourers of the present day. Similarly, we find people with their *uttariya* or scarf tied round their waists when they have to walk long distance.

The Sanchi reliefs represent frequently the waist ornaments, beaded belts comprising of one or more rows (*maṇi-mekhalā*).

(a) *Beaded belt (maṇi-mekhalā) of one row*:—This type of waist ornament is seen in the reliefs adorning the waists of queens, female attendants and female devotees. However, a fine example of this variety of waist ornament is to be seen in the waist of a female attendant and a *chāmaradhārīṇī* depicted on the Southern gateway²⁴⁹ (Pl. 40b). It consists of one row of beaded belt worn independently. Again, the queen Māyā represented on the Southern gateway²⁵⁰ (east end) offers an excellent example of *maṇi-mekhalā* of one row and it is seen worn independently. In some cases, as seen in female devotees represented in the scenes illustrating "Bodhi-drumas" the beaded belt of one row is shown worn independently. But, over it a *kamara-bandha* is also seen tied round the waist. It can be seen clearly from the illustration, the independent usage of *kamarabandha* and the beaded belt. This beaded belt of single row may represent *Kañchi* mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

(b) *Beaded belt (maṇi-mekhalā) of two rows*:—This fashion of waist ornament also occurs in the reliefs more than once. Thus,

queens, lady in *dohada*, *chatradhārīṇis*, female attendants appear in the reliefs with this type of waist ornament. However, the best examples of the beaded-belt consisting of two rows of beads is offered by a lady in *dohada* depicted on the Northern gateway.²⁵¹ Another clear example of the beaded-belt of two rows is to be seen in the waist of *chatradhārīṇi* depicted in the “Viśvantara jātaka”²⁵² (Pl. 36). Again, two queens portrayed on Southern gateway²⁵³ offers a different kind of waist ornaments. In this case, the beaded belt is of two rows but the beads are considerably small as compared to the above described one. In this case, this may be small gold globbles (Pl. 9).

(c) *Beaded belt of three rows* :—The best example of this fashion of waist ornament can be seen adorning the waist of a female devotees illustrated in the scene²⁵⁴ depicting “*Bodhi-druma* worship” (Pl. 43). It consists of three rows of beads and is worn independently. Precisely, similar one is again met with in the waist of female attendant illustrated in the panel revealing “Viśvantara jātaka”²⁵⁵ (Pl. 36). Parallel examples of this type of three-stringed beaded belt can be seen in the female figures of Bodhgaya.²⁵⁶ The use of three stranded girdle is also noticed in a terracotta female figure from Bulandi bagh.²⁵⁷

(d) *Beaded belt of four rows* :—This fashion of the ornament is sculptured more than once in the relief. However, the best example of it can be seen adorning the waist of the *chatradhārīṇi* on the pillar of the Southern gateway²⁵⁸ (Pl. 9). The waist ornament is shown worn by her independently and comprises of four rows of beads. Elsewhere,²⁵⁹ a lady in *dohada* is shown wearing precisely similar type of four stranded beaded belt.

(e) *Beaded belt of five rows* :—A clear example of them occur more than once in the sculptures. Thus, a female attendant depicted on the Southern gateway²⁶⁰ offers a bead-belt of five rows (Pl. 10b). She is shown sitting on a *mora* (*vetrāsana*) in the sculpture. Here again, the beaded belt is worn independently. Similar kind of five stranded beaded belts as worn independently can be seen adorning the waist of lady in *dohada* depicted on the Northern gateway.²⁶¹ An excellent example of this kind of beaded belt comes from one of

the Sanchi sculptures.²⁶² In this case also it is worn independently. Similar type of beaded belt with five strings of beads can be seen in the waist of Dīdargunj, *yakshi*²⁶³ and in the waist of Besnagar *yaksha*²⁶⁴ and also from Sarnath.

(f) *Beaded belt of six rows* :—There is solitary representation of this kind of beaded belt.²⁶⁵ A lady in *dohada* carved on the Northern gateway²⁶⁶ offers a waist ornament of six rows of beads. As usual it is also worn independently.

These beaded belts with several rows of beads may possibly, represent *mekhalākalāpa* mentioned in the Sanskrit literature. Some, if not all, of these beads constituting the *mekhalā* could be of Sapphire as referred to in the *Gāthāsaptasatī* of Hala.²⁶⁷

It is interesting to note that the clasp generally provided to the beaded-belt in the centre is conspicuously absent at Sanchi. However, the introduction of a clasp in a belt appears to be rather late. They become very prominent only in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mathura. In view of the complete absence of clasp in the early sculptures of Barhut, Sanchi and Amarāvati and its prominent presence at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mathura it is quite likely that its introduction in belt was due to foreign influence. Probably, it came into India along with Kushanas at Mathura and at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, with the Scythians.

However, the *maṇi-mekhalas* of plain variety without clasp also occur at Barhut, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Goli, Mathura etc. But one can see the refinement in the *mekhalas* of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mathura as compared to that of Barhut and Sanchi. These at Barhut and Sanchi are of large beads and heavy with more strands. But in contrast, the *mekhalas* of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mathura tend to reveal lessar number of strands of the *mekhalā* ranging upto three only with comparatively smaller sized beads. Thus, the *mekhalā* shows more refinement by lessening the heaviness of the ornament in the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.

(g) *A string probably of gold with bell-pendants* :—This fashion of the waist ornament is seen worn by the children represented in the Viśvantara jātaka.²⁶⁸ The waist ornament consists of a string probably

of gold (*hema-sūtra*) with gold bell pendants (*Pl. 36*). Precisely, smaller type of waist ornament is again met with in the scene²⁶⁹ representing "Māra's army". Māraputra is shown holding a waist ornament in his hands. One can make out clearly, the bell pendants suspended from the string, probably of gold. It is interesting to note that even with the present days children of Āndhra Pradesh are seen a waist ornament akin to the one described above. Presently, it is known as *gajjela molathādu*.

The ornaments of the waist are very common both in early Indian art and literature. The Śuṅga, Śātavāhana and Kushana schools depict them profusely. In literature, the *Arthaśāstra*²⁷⁰ refers to various waist ornaments such as *raśanā*, *sārasana*, *mekhalā*, *kañchi* and *saptaki* and were fashioned in the same way as necklaces and wristlets. The *mekhalā* and *maṇi-mekhalā* are composed of innumerable strands of gems and is often called *mekhalākalāpa*²⁷¹ Hāla in his *Gāthāsaptāśatī*,²⁷² speaks of jewelled *mekhalā* of dark beads. Perhaps, Hāla had sapphires in his mind. The whole epic of Tamil literature is based on the anklet silappadigaram and on the girdle of gems (*maṇi-mekhalai*). The *Nāṭyaśāstra*²⁷³ refers to the waist ornaments like *kañchi* (a girdle of one string), the *mekhalā* (of eight), the *raśanā* (of sixteen) and the *kalāpa* (of twenty-five strings). Later Kālidāsa, Sūdraka, Bāṇa, Māgha and other speak of girdles at several places.²⁷⁴

VI. LEG ORNAMENTS (NŪPURA[S])

The variety of leg ornaments illustrated in the reliefs is limited. It appears that the women considered it to be their exclusive right to wear them as is evident from the relief. In the reliefs, the big ornaments can be seen worn by queen, female attendants, female amorous couples, female devotees, *chāmaradhārinīs*, lady in *dohada* etc. There is no difference in the leg ornament worn by the aristocracy and the commonalty. But, it is possible that the difference was in the material. It is quite likely that the healthy class wore gold and silver anklets while the poor class could afford the use of anklets made of baser metal, shell, ivory or even terracotta as is evident from the discovery

of such terracotta ornaments in the recent excavations in the ancient sites of early historical period. These anklets could be either solid or hollow. It is note-worthy that some of the tribal people like lambadis, even to this day wear such big size anklets which are either solid or hollow. Speaking about them, Moor²⁷⁵ says, "their dress is peculiar and their ornaments are so singularly chosen that we have seen women who (not to mention a child at their backs) have had eight or ten pounds weight in the metal or ivory round their arms and legs". This would explain in the case of the females the trend towards heavy ornamentation seen in the sculptures.

The reliefs offer three varieties of leg ornaments namely, (i) plain, thick anklet; (ii) plain rings or *valayas*; (iii) multicoiled rings or *valayas*.

(i) *A plain thick anklet*

This type of anklet appears in the reliefs often. Some women are shown wearing one thick (either heavy or hollow since it cannot be known from the sculptures) anklet round in section and is similar to that worn presently by women in the villages of Āndhra Pradesh, Karnāṭaka, Tamilnādu and Mahārāstra. These anklets are known as *kadiyam* in Telugu and *kaḍaga* in Kanarese. When these thick anklets were hollow they were of a hollow tube of some metal bent to a circular shape. This tube was probably, filled with shots to produce sound when the damsels wearing this danced or moved about. This explains the appellation *mañjirā*.²⁷⁶ In the reliefs, they appear adorning the legs of female devotees, lady in *dohada*, etc. The number of anklets worn in each leg ranged from one to two. Of these, the frequency of the portrayal of one anklet is relatively more.

Thus, the lady in *dohada* represented on the Northern gateway²⁷⁷ is seen wearing a single plain anklet. Precisely, similar anklet is seen worn by a female attendant, female devotees depicted in the scenes revealing "the Nāgamuchalinda episode"²⁷⁸ (Pl 49a) and the "worship of *Bodhi-drumas*."²⁷⁹ They are shown wearing a plain thick anklet one in each leg.

Sometimes, the women wore two anklets in each leg can be known from the female attendants depicted on the Northern gateway²⁸⁰. They are shown wearing a pair of plain thick anklets around their each leg. Exactly similar pair of anklets are to be seen in the leg of a female devotee sculptured in the scene²⁸¹ representing the worship of *Bodhi-druma* (Pl. 43).

(ii) *Plain thin rings or valayas*

This type of anklet, namely, a plain thin ring or *valayas* were perhaps, hollow tubes bent round as seen in the case of plain and thick anklets. In this case also the tube was probably filled with small stone chips which enabled the ornament to produce a melodious sound when lass wearing this moved about. Thus, the panel revealing scene²⁸² of the village Uruvilva depict some of the village women as wearing simple *valayas* in their legs. They are shown wearing four such simple *valayas* in each of their legs (Pl. 18). Sometime, the number of the *valayas* increased to five as seen in the case of the anklets worn by female devotees depicted in the scene²⁸³ revealing “*Bodhi-druma* worship”.

(iii) *Multicoiled rings or valayas*

This type of multicoiled *nūpurās* are frequently depicted in the Sanchi reliefs. It was the most favoured leg ornament and can be seen in the reliefs adorning the legs of queens, female devotees, *chāmaradhārīṇīs*, female attendants. Lady in *dohada chatradhārīṇīs* amorous couples etc. All classes of people are seen wearing this leg ornament irrespective of their status in the society. Obviously, a sheet metal rolled up into several antithetic coils or spirals seemed to have comprised this ornament. Although, the technique of manufacture of the ornament cannot be known directly from the reliefs, one can visualise the process of the ornament making from the design of the ornament and the way in which they were worn. These multicoiled ornaments were possibly, flattened to a required breadth with a hammer and then coiled round in spirals.

However, the best example of this kind of multicoiled leg ornament can be seen in the leg of queen *Māyā* depicted on Eastern

and Western gateways²⁸⁴ (Pl. 40). Precisely, similar multicoiled ornament is to be seen in the leg of a queen depicted in the scene²⁸⁵ revealing "king in the pleasure garden" (Pl. 39b). Sivaramamurti identifies this leg ornament as a multicoiled *mañjirā*²⁸⁶.

Parallel examples of this multicoiled leg ornaments are available in the sculptures of Barhut,²⁸⁷ Amarāvati,²⁸⁸ Nāgārjunakoṇḍa²⁸⁹ etc. These multicoiled leg ornaments were very popular during the preceding and succeeding centuries of the Christian era as evidenced at Sanchi, Barhut and Amarāvati; but they were evidently on wane at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. It is an interesting feature that while the multicoiled *nūpura* is prevalent in early Indian art, it is significantly absent in the contemporary or early specimens, outside India. Apparently, this multicoiled ornament did not gain favour outside India in the early period when it was very popular at Sanchi and Amarāvati in India.

The people of the Sātavāhana period had a great taste for wearing the leg ornaments by combining two different varieties as known from the reliefs. Thus, two such combinations, namely, (a) simple *valaya* and thick anklet; (b) thick anklet and multicoiled *nūpura*.

(a) *Simple valaya and thick anklet* :— A lady in *dohada* depicted on the Northern gateway²⁹⁰ reveals a combination of leg ornament which includes six simple *valayas* and a thick anklet (Pl. 17). Sometimes, the number of the simple *valayas* were increased as seen in the case of the leg ornament of another lady in *dohada* depicted elsewhere.²⁹¹ Here, the combination of the leg ornament includes seven simple *valayas* and a thick anklet. However, an excellent example of this combination of the *nūpura* comes from the relief depicting "Bodhi-druma worship".²⁹² A female attendant appears in the relief with a *nūpura* having the combination of seven simple *valayas* and a thick anklet (Pl. 25c).

(b) *A thick anklet and multicoiled valayas* : This combination of the leg ornament receives frequent illustration in the reliefs which testifies to its popularity. A lady in *dohada* depicted on the Eastern gateway²⁹³ offers a leg ornament having the combination of a thick

anklet and multicoiled *valayas* (Pl. 29). Another best example of the leg ornament of this combination occurs with a female attendant depicted in the scene revealing “*Bodhi-druma* worship”.²⁹⁴ That the queen also preferred this type of leg ornament can be known from the queen Māyā depicted on the Northern gateway.²⁹⁵ She is shown wearing a thick anklet in association with multicoiled *valayas*.

The leg ornaments are common in the early Indian art and literature. The sculptures of Barhut, Sanchi, Amarāvati, Nāgārjuna-konḍa, Mathura, Gandhāra, paintings of Ajanta depict leg ornaments. In Sānskrit literature, they are variously known as *mañjirā*, *tūlakotia*, *nūpura*, *padāṅgada* and *hamsaka*. Bharata²⁹⁶ in his Nāṭyaśāstra refers *nūpura*, *kinkinī*, *ghaṇṭi-kājāla* and *kaṭaka* as ornaments of anklet. The Buddhist texts *Lalitavistara*²⁹⁷ and the *Soundarānanda kāvyā*²⁹⁸ of Aśvagoshā speak of the anklet *nūpura* at several places. The whole tragic story *Chilap-pathikāram*²⁹⁹ of the Sangan literature centres round the anklet. Kālidāsa, Sūdraka, Bāṇa and others refer copiously to the anklets (*nūpuras*) in the works.³⁰⁰

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17. B.M. Barua, *Barhut, Aspects of Life and Art Series* (Calcutta, 1934-37), pt. III, pl. LXIV, 74.
18. *Arts Asiatica*, Vol. XV, 1930, pls. i.ii and iii.
19. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. VI, 5, 6, 7.
20. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VI, 5.
21. J. Griffiths, *Paintings in the Buddhist cave-temples of Ajanta* (1896-97), 47, 48, 55, 58, 60 etc.
22. *Harṣacarita*, p. 32.
23. According to the *Sūtra* IV. 3, 65 of Panini the forehead ornament *lalāṭika* may be long jewelled strip along the forehead (Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 103); Cf. Bāṇa's *Jūtikābharana*.
24. *Amara*, p. 155.
25. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 11.9.49.
26. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.3.
27. *Ibid.*, 63.1.
28. *Ibid.*, 57.
29. *Jātaka*, V. No. 526, p. 104.
30. Loth, Anne-Marie, *Lavie Publique et Privée Dans L'Inde Ancienne*, Tome VI, (Paris, 1972), Planche 6.10; 11.2; 12.5; 6, 7, 8; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, figs. 8 and 13, VIII, figs. 5 & 23, Zimmer, *op. cit.*, Pls. 90.91, 95b; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII.
31. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. V. 10; Lotti, *Loc. cit.*, Manche, 13.5, 7.
32. Ramachandran, (Goli sculptures), *op. cit.*, pls. IV and VI.
33. Loth, Anne-Marie, *Loc. cit.*, Planche 3.8, 10.
34. R.A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman jewellery*, (London, 1961), p. 87, pl. 12 E. The excavations at Taxila disclosed a few specimens of kundala type discussed above. (Sir John Marshall, Taxila, *ASIAR*, 1902-03 (Calcutta). pl. XXVI, figs. 9 & 10; Also see collection of late Shri R. K. Lamture of Ter.
35. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 52. b; Also see Lothe, *op. cit.*, Planche, 4.9.
36. *Ibid.*, 29.2.
37. *Ibid.*, 23.2 and 25.1.
38. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
39. "Mathura Terracottas", *JPHS*, Vol. IX, No. 2, pp. 16 and 19; p. II, fig. 6, pl. IV, fig. 13.
40. H. Zimmer, *Art of Indonesia, Barhut*, pls. 33a, b, c; 34 and Loth, *op. cit.*, Planche, 1 to 4, 6, 8, 9.
41. Loth, *op. cit.*, Planche, 4, 1, 2.
42. *Ibid.*, 3.9.
43. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 80.81.
44. *Ibid.*, 84, 85.
45. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, figs. 1 to 5 and 10; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pls. 90,

- 91, 95b; D. Barrett, *Amaravati Sculptures in the British Museum*, VIII, XLI, XLIV, XLV & XXIII; Loth, *op. cit.*, Planche, 3, 4, 11.
46. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, III, VII.
 47. Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, (Ajanta) p. 68.
 48. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 11.3.
 49. *Ibid.*, 62.3.
 50. *Ibid.*, 12.4.
 51. *Gāthāsaptasatī*, IV, 2.
 52. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.1.
 53. *Ibid.*, 40.3.
 54. *Ibid.*, 36.c2, 24.2, etc.
 55. *Ibid.*, 36.c2.
 56. *Ibid.*, 24.2.
 57. Mitra, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 231.
 58. Excavations conducted by M. Venkataramayya and K. Raghavachari at Dharaṇīkōṭa have yielded disc-shaped ear-ornaments of terracotta, ivory and glass.
 59. Loath, *op. cit.*, Planche, 10.2.
 60. The specimens are displayed in Kondapur Museum.
 61. R. Subrahmanyam, *Salihundam, a Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad, 1964, pl. XXVII, 1-6.
 62. R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, Calcutta 1960, p. 231.
 63. Barua, *op. cit.*, pls. XXX-23, XLIV-44; Loth, *op. cit.*, Planche, 1, 12.
 64. Loth, *op. cit.*, Planche, 2; 7, 5.
 65. *Ibid.*, Planche 5, 4, 5.
 66. *Ibid.*, Planche, 6, 8; Planche, 7, 8; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII.
 67. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. V. 11.
 68. Loth, *op. cit.*, Planche, 14.4; Vogel, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI-b.
 69. Loth, *op. cit.*, Planche 8.1, 2.
 70. Ajanta, *Lalit Kala Akademy* (New Delhi), pl. XXX-23.
 71. Higgins, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 125-26, 137-139; pls. 13E and 32E.
 72. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 18.3.
 73. *Ibid.*, 18.b1
 74. *Ibid.*, 12.2.
 75. *Meghadūta*, ii, 11.
 76. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p.109.
 77. Panini, IV, 3, 65; *Karnalalātat Kanalamkāre*.
 78. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 12.2.
 79. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, fig. 17.
 80. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. V, 15.
 81. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, (Gandhāra sculptures), fig. VII, 19.

82. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 13.2.
83. *Ibid.*, 25.1.
84. *Ibid.*, 11.3.
85. Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* refers to the word *Sroni-sūtra*, as the name suggests was a gold thread to hold the ear-ornament.
86. Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 189. 194.b.
87. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 40.3.
88. *Cullavagga*, V, 2, 1; *Vinaya* texts, p. 69.
89. *Harṣacarita*, pp. 32 and 166.
90. Loth, *op. cit.*, Planche, 6.5; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, Fig. 4; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pls. 92.b; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XIII, XLI, XLIV, XLV.
91. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 84, 85.
92. V.S. Agrawala, *Master Pieces of Mathura Sculpture* (Varanasi, 1969), pl. III, VII.
93. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa), fig. V. 16.
94. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, (Gandhāra Sculptures), fig. VII, 20.
95. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 57, 59.
96. *Ibid.*, 36.c3.
97. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. V.13. Also see Krishna Murthy, K. "Multi-coiled ornament in Ancient Indian Art", *JOI*.
98. Loth, *op. cit.*, Planche, 7.3.
99. *Ibid.*, Planche, 9.8.
100. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. VII, 16.
101. *Ibid.*, Planche, 7.2; Deshpande, M.N., "The rock cut caves of Pithal khora", *AI*, No. 15, 1949, p. 82. pl. LVII.A.
102. H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, (New York), pls.80 and 81.
103. Loth, Planche, 2, 2, 6, 9.
104. *IAR*. 1959-60, p. 9 and pl. IV-C. However, no such specimens have been reported from the historical levels at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.
105. Higgins, *op.cit.*, p. 102.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
108. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 18.b2.
109. *Ibid.*, 25.1.
110. Similar type of ear-ornaments are seen worn in Āndhra Pradesh even today by boys and girls.
111. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 40.3.
112. *Ibid.*, 29.2.
113. *Ibid.*, 63.2.
114. *Ibid.*, 29.2.
115. *Ibid.*, 57.1.

Personal Ornaments

93

116. *Ibid.*, 25.1.
117. *Ibid.*, 13.6.
118. *Ġāthāsaptasatī*, IV. 2.
119. *Cullavagga*, V.2.1.
120. *Vinaya Texts*, iii, p. 69.
121. *J. v.* No. 596, p. 104.
122. *Chilappathikāram*, VI, 76 to 108.
123. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 412.
124. *Ibid.*, pp. 414. 15.
125. *Raghu.*, X, 51, p. 217, *Ṛtu.* iii, 14, p.42; *Ragh.*, VIII, 27; *Ṛtu.* ii, 19, p. 26; *Megha*, ii, 11.
126. *Harṣacarita*, p. 202, text, pp. 206-7 and p. 231.
127. *Kādambarī*, p. 215.
128. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 23.1.
129. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 76.
130. *Harṣacarita*, p. 135.
131. *Ibid.*, 33.1.
132. *Ibid.*, 58.2.
133. Marshall & Foucher, *op.cit.*, 26.
134. *Ibid.*, 12.2.
135. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 76.
136. *Ibid.*, 23.1.
137. *Ibid.*, 25 and 44.
138. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 64.c2.
139. Loth, *op. cit.*, Planche, 9.3.
140. *Ibid.*, Planche, 18.1.
141. *Ibid.*, Planche, 21.2.
142. *Ibid.*, Planche, 22.5; 26.1.
143. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p.205.
144. Loth, *op. cit.*, Planche, 23. 4, 5, 6.
145. *Ibid.*, 325-34.
146. Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, (Ajanta), p. 70.
147. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 34-62.
148. *Ibid.*, 57.
149. *Ibid.*, 23.1.
150. *Ibid.*, 13.5.
151. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 77.
152. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 36.a1; and 50.a2.
153. *Ibid.*, 57.
154. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
155. *Ibid.*, pl. VII. 5.

156. Loth, *op. cit.*, Planche, 21.2.
157. *Ibid.*, Planche, 24.3.
158. For origin and development of *Channavira Vaikakahska*; vide Krishna Murthy, K., "Channavira Vaikakshaka in early Indian art, *JAHRS*, Vol. 35, pp. 285 to 288.
159. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 59; Krishna Murthy, *JAHRS.*, pl. 49, fig. 1.
160. *Ibid.*, 29. 2.
161. *Ibid.*, 48; Krishna Murthy, *JAHRS*, Vol. 35, pl. 49, fig. 2.
162. *Ibid.*, 65. al.
163. *Ibid.*, 27; Krishna Murthy, *JAHRS*, Vol. 35., pl. 49, fig. 3.
164. *Ibid.*, 68. b; Krishna Murthy, *JAHRS*, Vol. 35, pl. 49, fig. 4.
165. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 33b, 36a.
166. *AI*, No. 15, LVII-A.
167. Stern et Benisti, *Evol.*, *Du style indien d' Amaravati*, pl. XLIX-b; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI.
168. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 82.
169. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. VI. 17.
170. Cf. Lucknow Museum antiquities, Nos. B. 86, J. 598, J. 103, J. 126.
171. Hackin, *N.R.A.B.*, Figs. 103, 105 and 225, 176; *Marg*, Vol. XXIV, (June, 1971), Number 3, pp. 25, 28, figs. 52, 55.
172. J.G. Wilkinson, *Manners and customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, (London, 1836), Vol. II, p. 336, Wood cut. No. 238, 327.
173. Eva Strommenger, *The Art of Mesopotamia* (London, 1964), pp. 270 & 271. The antiquity in now preserved in the British Museum, London.
174. *Ibid.*, 2.
175. R. Ghirshman, *Iran, Parthians and Sassarians*, 163, 164, 165.
176. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 19a, 37a.
177. *Ibid.*, 37a. According to Maissey, these *hāras* are the symbolical ornaments worn, perhaps as charms by the local monarchs, who made offerings to the deity worshipped of his personal ornaments, an old custom still followed in the Buddhist countries. These symbolic necklaces may be compared with those in the Assyrian sculptures (Maissey, *op. cit.*, p. 16 and foot-note 2 and pl. XXXIX, fig. 15 & 16).
178. *Harṣacarita*, p. 120.
179. Some of the finest specimens from Koshambi are in the collection of late M.G. Dikshit (Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, Sanchi), p. 45.
180. John Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. III, pl. 193, No. 134 (Cambridge, 1951).
181. *Harṣacarita*, p. 120.
182. Dhavalikar. *op. cit.*, (Sanchi), p. 45.
183. H.C. Beck, *The beads from Taxila*, p. 57, pl. VIII. 7.
184. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

185. H.D. Sankalia and others, *From history to prehistory at Nevasa* (1954-56), fig. 170, Nos. 6-7 (Poona, 1960).
186. Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, (Sanchi), p. 46.
187. V.S. Agravala, *Guide to Lucknow Museum*, pl. V, No. J. 249.
188. *Harṣacarita*, p. 120.
189. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29. 2.
190. *Ibid.*, 19.b.
191. Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 290.
192. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 97.
193. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
194. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
195. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 66. a.
196. *Ibid.*, 66. b.
197. *Ibid.*, 119. c.
198. An interesting custom prevails among lambadis. Unmarried lambadi girls wear black-bead-necklaces which are taken off at the time of marriage and its place *ravikai* (jacket) is worn (Thurston, *op. cit.*, p. 217).
199. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 100. 3.
200. *Ibid.*, 11. 3.
201. *Ibid.*, 18. bl.
202. Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, fig. 36.
203. *Taxila*, Vol. III, pl. 193, No. 134 (Cambridge, 1951).
204. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 76.
205. *Gāthāsaptatī*, 1. 75.
206. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, pp. 412-415.
207. *Ibid.*, 412-416.
208. *Ibid.*, 415-426.
209. *Kum.*, II, 19, p. 26; *Raghu*, XIII, 48, p. 279; V, 52, p. 109, 70, p. 115; *Rtu.*, 1, 6, p. 4; 1, 8, II, 25, pp. 5, 13.
210. *Harṣacarita*, pp. 260-261.
211. Higgins, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 168, 186-7.
212. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 16b. In art, we get armlets with beaded pattern and edged in by one, two or more rims. *Vide* Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Barhut), 33b, 35b, 36a (Mathura), 60, (Amarāvati), 95c; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV; LX.2; Barrett, D., *Amarāvati Sculptures in the British Museum*, pl. VII, X, XIX, XXIII, and XLV.
213. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 11. 3.
214. *Ibid.*, 18. b2.
215. *Ibid.*, 12. 1.
216. Cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 33b, 35 b, 36a of Barhut, pl.60 of Mathura, 95c, 92b of Amarāvati, Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, XLV and LXII, Barrett, *op. cit.*,

- pls. VII, X, XII, XLV, XXVI; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli sculptures) pls. I, A and B, II, F, III-G, etc., *ASR*, 1926-27, p. 150, pls. XXXV, XXXVI for Alluru and Gummadiidurru; Barrett, *Ter*, pl. 10 and 11: Jaggayyapeta, pl. 37 of Zimmer's *The Art of Indian Asia*.
217. *Vinaya Texts*, iii, 69; *Cullavagga*, V. 2, 1.
 218. Pillai, Kanakasabhai, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
 219. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 413.
 220. *Ibid.*, p. 416.
 221. *Raghu*, VI, 68, p. 136.
 222. *Gāthāsaptasatī*, VI. 39.
 223. Thurston, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
 224. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 57.
 225. *Ibid.*, 44.
 226. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 23.
 227. *Ibid.*, 22.2.
 228. *Ibid.*, 25.
 229. *Ibid.*, 41.
 230. *Ibid.*, 18.b1.
 231. *Ibid.*, 43.
 232. *Ibid.*, 18.b1.
 233. *Ibid.*, 25.b1.
 234. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Barhut), Pl. 32, Bhaja, Pl. 43, Mathura, pl. 60; Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, fig. 8, 10 etc., Zimmer, *op. cit.*, Amarāvati pl. 87b; Barrett, (Amarāvati), pls. XV; Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
 235. *Gāthāsaptasatī*, VI, 39.
 236. *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, i, p. 292.
 237. See for chank bangle industry and its antiquity, Hornell James, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, 1910-1914, pp. 407. and 11 ff.
 238. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 416.
 239. This resembles the *baju* ornament used in the rural areas of Bengal.
 240. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 36.
 241. *Ibid.*, 50, 52.
 242. *Ibid.*, 36.
 243. *Ibid.*, 11.3.
 244. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Barhut), pls. 31b, 32, 32a, 32c, 34a, 35a, etc. Jaggayyapeta, 1.37; Mathura, 74a, 76a; Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pls. I, VI, VII, IX; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Karle) pls. 82, 83, (Amarāvati) pls. 86a, 87, 90, 92, 95c; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XV, XVII, XXIII, XLI; *Lalit Kala Akademi*, Ajanta, pl. VI, IX, XII.
 245. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 413.
 246. Higgins, *op. cit.*, 187-188.
 247. See for various theories as regards the origin of clothing. Hiler, *From Nudity to Raiment*, 1 (London), 1930.

Personal Ornaments

97

248. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
249. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 12.2.
250. *Ibid.*, 13.4.
251. *Ibid.*, 26.
252. *Ibid.*, 23. 1.
253. *Ibid.*, 18. b1.
254. *Ibid.*, 58. 2.
255. *Ibid.*, 23. 1.
256. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bodhgaya*, pls. XXXIX. 110, LV, 22.
257. Patna Museum, Arch. No. 9473. Also see Sanchidanand Sahay, *Indian Costume Coiffure and Ornament* (Patna, 1974), p. 153.
258. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 18. 61.
259. *Ibid.*, 48.
260. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, 18. b1.
261. *Ibid.*, 27.
262. *Ibid.*, 68. a.
263. Sachidanand Sahay, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
264. K.A.N. Sastri, *Sunga Sātavāhana*, pl. XXXVIII.
265. S. Kramrish, *Indian Sculpture*, pl. III, II.
266. *Ibid.*, 31.
267. *Gāthāsaptasatī*, VI. 74.
268. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 23. 1.
269. *Ibid.*, 29. 1.
270. *Arthasāstra*, p. 84.
271. *Sīsupālavadha*, IX, 45.
272. *Gāthāsaptasatī*, VI. 74. According to Dr. V. V. Mirashi only the core of the poem *Gāthāsaptasatī* is old, but its additions go upto the 6th century A.D.
273. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 31. 32, Trans. by Manmohan Ghosh (Calcutta), 1950, p. 416.
274. *Kālidāsa*; *Rtu*, XIII, 42; X. 8; XIX, 40 and 45; *K.* I, 38; VIII, 81; *Rtu*. I. 6; VI, 24 etc; *Sūdraka*, *Mṛcchakāṭika* Act. I, p. 19; Bāṇa, *Kādambarī*, p. 8; Māgha. *Sīsupālavadha*, IX, 45; see also Ghurye, G.S., *Indian Costumes* (Bombay, 1951), pp. 274-277.
275. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, (1966), Vol. IV, p. 211.
276. Such anklets which produced sweet sound are referred to copiously in the Sānskrit dramas like *Mṛcchakāṭika* (Act. I, 34), *Raghuvamśa* (SVI. 12) ; and *Kādambarī* (p. 3).
277. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 24, 27, 30 etc.
278. *Ibid.*, 19.c.
279. *Ibid.*, 22.2.
280. *Ibid.*, 31.1.
281. *Ibid.*, 58.2.

282. *Ibid.*, 52.1.
283. *Ibid.*, 16.4.
284. *Ibid.*, 44.56.
285. *Ibid.*, 63.2.
286. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, 19; *Manju Iran manjirah*.
287. A Cunningham, *Stūpa of Barhut*, (London, 1879), pl. 51, fig. 6.
288. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 114; Ol. VIII. 19 and IX. 5; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XV, XVI, XVII and XXXIV and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 94.
289. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa), p. 316 and pl. VA, 21. Also compare illustrations in Loth, *op. cit.*, Barhut, pl. 66.3, 6; (Amarāvati), pl. 69.3; (Karli), pl. 69.3; Bodhgaya, 67.7.
290. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 25.
291. *Ibid.*, 32.
292. *Ibid.*, 36.c3.
293. *Ibid.*, 25, 42, 48.
294. *Ibid.*, 43.
295. *Ibid.*, 24.
296. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 34. Translated by M.M. Ghosh, Calcutta (1950), Vol. I, p. 417.
297. *Lalitavistara*, IX, p. 121. Ed. by Rajendralal Mitra, Calcutta, 1877 Translated by the same Ed. by G.S. Lefman Halls 1902-8. In the *Jātakas*, the foot-bangle *Pālīpādakam* is mentioned; J.VI., 590-G, 2447.
298. *Soundarānandakāvya*, IV, 26; Ed. By H.P. Sastri, Calcutta, 1910, Ed. E.H. Johnston, Lahore 1928; Translated by the same.
299. *Kalith-thokai*, p. 85, see Kanaka Sabhai, *Tamils 18000 years ago*, Chap. IX, p. 119.
300. *Raghuvaṃśam*, XVI. 12; *Mṛcchakāṭika*, Act I, 34; *Kādambarī*, p. 3.

CHAPTER FIVE

Coiffure and Head Dress

A. COIFFURES

As the majority of the males and females in the Sanchi reliefs appear with the covered heads, they have not much to tell us in respect of their coiffures. However, an endeavour has been made to have a fair idea of their hair styles from the available specimens. Evidently, the people who showed remarkable taste for variety and fashion as regards to their head-dress are naturally expected to have shown same artistic skill and meticulous attention in the arrangement of their hair. The pleasing variety of the hair-styles depicted in the reliefs are described below.

I. MALE HAIR STYLES

(i) *Curly Hair*

Generally, the dwarfs¹ appear in the reliefs with curly hair. It is again, some of the Grecians depicted in the reliefs reveal the curly hair. Thus, the panel² illustrating "the feast celebrated by the Mallas of Kusinagara", (*Pl. 25a*) reveals some Greeks with curly hair (*Fig. I, .1, 2 & 4*). As for the dwarfs, some of them appearing on one of the gateways³ of Stūpa-3, thrice, wear short curly hair (*Fig. I, 3*). But, the dwarf illustrated on Southern gateway⁴ is shown with a fillet tied to his curly hair with a loop knot at the side (*Fig. I, 5*).

It is noteworthy that the curly hair are rare or almost absent in the early Indian art. They become common only in the 2nd-3rd

centuries A.D. The Buddha is depicted with such curly hair at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mathura. The curly hair, however, becomes extremely common during the Gupta period. In this connection, it should be noted that such curly hair was a raging fashion in the Hellenistic and Roman world. Evidently, the intimate contacts that the India had with Greeks and Romans just before the Christian era was responsible for the introduction of this fashion hair into India. It came with the Greeks at Gandhāra. It made its appearance again in the Sātavāhana period as is evident from Sanchi relief.

Similarly, forehead band too is almost absent in the early Indian art. These forehead bands have a high antiquity in the classical world. The ancient Greeks used to wear bands of silk or leather or thin sheet of metal. These were used for supporting the metal plaque called *Stephane*⁵. Apparently, these bands secured to keep the curly hair unruffled. It would not be therefore illogical to presume that the Greco-Romans were responsible for the introduction of this toilet article into India. However, during the 4th-6th centuries A.D., in Gupta period, this type of fastening were quite popular. It is well known that the Indians preferred to use silken bands (*vālapāśyā*)⁶ or bands of thin sheets of metal (*patrapāśyā*)⁷.

In one instance⁸ an antelope rider is shown with his curlish hair in such a way to allow it to fall on the forehead as shown in the illustrations (*Fig. I, 6*). This hair-style is typically un-Indian and heralds the hair-styles seen among the noble men of the Imperial Roman Court⁹. Even in earlier times, Greeks also used to comb their hair in similar fashion.¹⁰

In India, traces of such hair-styles are met with in Gandhāra art which prones us to postulate that India got this fashion of hair from the Greeks. As such, the persons appear at Sanchi with this hair-style could have been either Greeks or Romans. However, this fashion of hair-style did not find favour in India as is evident from its total absence throughout the Indian art.

A male depicted in scene¹¹ illustrating "the feast celebrated by the Mallas of Kushinagara", also appears with this type of hair-style.

He has combed his hair tightly and allowed it to fall on the forehead (*Fig. I, 7*). In the same panel another person, a male musician¹² is shown with his hair combed sideways at the back as the front portion is all bald (*Fig. II, 8*).

Another hair-style consisted of collecting the mass of hair on the right and twisting it into a loop-knot. A portion of the hair is also allowed to fall on the forehead as seen in the above example (*Fig. I, 9*).

(ii) *Long hair combed back from the forehead and allowed to dangle on the nape.*

In this case a male¹³ carrying *kāvadi* (*pingo*) is shown with long hair combed back and allowed to sling on the nape (*Pl. 19b; Fig. I, 10*). This is a common hair-style generally met with in the middle class. Thus, a groom¹⁴ is also found with a similar hair-style (*Fig. I, 11*). At times, even sages¹⁵ also adopted this kind of coiffure (*Pls. 19b, 24c*). The matted locks (*jātas*) were allowed to sling on the nape (*Fig. I, 12*). A slight deviation can be seen to this hair-style, in a *vyāla* rider and a *yaksha*, where they have combed back their mass of hair and gathered into a vertically or roundish projecting bunch at the back (*Fig. I, 14; Fig. II, 13*). At Amarāvati and Ajanta, it was quite common hair-style among the women but at Sanchi, illustrations point out its usage by men also.

(iii) *Long hair combed back from the forehead into the upward twisted curls*

Sometimes, men combed back their hair from the forehead and terminated them in upward twisted curls¹⁶ (*Fig. I, 15*). Such type of hair-styles is often met with at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, in the case of kings and members of royalty.

(iv) *Sikhaṇḍa type coiffure (Fig. I, 17; Fig. II, 16)*

A few of the males in the Sanchi reliefs appear with this type of hair-style. They have dressed their hair into an egg-shaped ball (*sikhaṇḍa*). Generally, this kind of coiffure is seen with the children¹⁷ (*Pl. 24c*). A slight deviation to this hair-style can be seen with a male

worshipper, when he has gathered his hair upwards into a conical shape and allowed some locks of hair to form into an elongated bunch on the left side (*Fig. II, 18*). This is evidently a different form of *śikhaṇḍa* type of coiffure. Another variety is also seen where some men¹⁸ have gathered their hair into a broad tuft. The tuft is truncated as opposed to the *Sikhaṇḍa* type of hair-style met with in the Sanchi reliefs where it is extensively an egg-shaped. In the present case, a fillet is also fastened around the tuft to keep it tight (*Fig. II, 19*).

(v) *Jaṭābhāra śikhaṇḍa mode combined in one*

Generally, ascetics are seen in the relief with their matted locks (*jaṭās*) rolled up and secured in an egg shaped ball¹⁹ (*Pl. 15a; Fig. I. 20*). This coiffure is thus a combined mode of *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* style. Comparable examples of *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* modes combined in one occur throughout Indian art. This is probably, because of the fact that religion was the guiding factor for the sculptor—whether he worked at Barhut or Sanchi, Amarāvati, Goli, Mathura or in Gandhāra. As a result of this artist's yard-stick the depiction of the sages with matted locks or of the monk with a shaven head was uniform and has remained an inevitable appendage in the sculptures. At Barhut²⁰, Amarāvati²¹ and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa²² the depictions of this coiffure (*jaṭābhāra and śikhaṇḍa modes combined*) is in profusion. It becomes extremely common in Gandhāra art²³.

(vi) *Hair gathered upwards into conical shape*

This hair-style appears to be the monopoly of the sages and worshippers²⁴. The coiffure comprised of a mass of hair combed upward, forming into a conical shape. This hair-style differs from *śikhaṇḍa*. In the scene²⁵ depicting "the conversion of the kasyapas", the anchorites appear with a mass of hair combed upwards and formed into a conical shape (*Fig. II, 21 & 22*).

(vii) *Peacock plume hair-style (barha-bhāra-keśa)*

This hair-style comprising of fan shaped projection on the top of the head is also not with in Sanchi specimens²⁶ (*Fig. II, 23*). This

hair-style is very charming and is favoured more by females than males. It appears to be fairly common in sculptures of the early period, and excellent examples of this are available at Amarāvati²⁷, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa²⁸ and Mathura²⁹. However, it is not so common at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. But one can see its extreme popularity in Gupta period. Its best example can be perceived in the terracottas of Rajghat³⁰.

This hair-style has been referred as *barha-bhāra-keśa* by Kālidāsa in his *kāvya*s. The poet refers to "the arranging of hair in the style of the feathers of a peacock (*lila-mayūra-barhya-bhangya-keśapaśam*) and to the mass of hair arranged in imitation of peacock feathers (*barhi-barhāvalim vidambayatā keśakalapena*)³¹. The style is no doubt charming and adds considerable dignity to the wearer.

II. FEMALE HAIR STYLES

The women illustrated in the Sanchi reliefs no way lagged behind in exhibiting their variety of hair-styles. But as these women mostly appear in the reliefs with head dresses, little scope is left for the study of their coiffures. However, the available instances are adequate to visualise the skill exercised by them in arranging their hair in various fashions.

(i) *Long hair combed back with keśavīthi and allowed to dangle on the shoulders*

A female worshipper³² in one of the reliefs exhibited this kind of hair-style. She has just combed her hair and allowed to dangle on the shoulder at the back. She has clearly parted the hair and the *simanta* or *keśavīthi* is quite extant (*Fig. III, 1*). A slight deviation to this can be seen with another female worshipper³³, where she has maintained her hair-style almost similar to the above one but without *keśavīthi* (*Fig. III, 2*). But for this, the mode of the fashion is similar to the above one. In the present case, however, an attempt to plait the hair on the back is also made.

- (ii) *Hair combed sideways and secured in a roundish bun with knot close to the nape (Fig. III, 3)*

This fashion of hair-do is mostly seen in early Indian art. In fact, the introduction of such roundish bun seems to have been made as early as in 1st century B.C. when it was extremely common in Greece and Roman. This hair-style can be identified as *keśapāśa*. An amorous lady³⁴, appears in the reliefs, with a similar hair-style. In this case, the roundish bun is very prominent and the hair is parted in the middle as opposed to the one described above (Fig. III, 4).

In yet another instance³⁵, a lady, an elephant rider appears with a prominent bun. In her case, it is a curly hair, combed back and terminated into a prominent roundish bun. But as seen in Fig. 4 no parting line can be traced (Fig. III, 5).

This hair-style, i.e. the roundish bun, appears to be a foreign introduction. The Greek and Roman ladies in early times showed great aptitude, in combing their hairs into a bun. Probably, the flourishing trade that the India had with the Roman world, in the preceding and succeeding centuries of the Christian era, was responsible for introduction of this hair-style into India, sometime in 1st century B.C. This coiffure is very common in Gandhāra, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Mathura, Ajanta etc. Its popularity was continued at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa also. However, the zenith of its popularity reached only in the Vākātaka-Gupta period. This fact is well borne out by its innumerable depictions in the latter group of Ajanta paintings.

- (iii) *Hair in the peacock plume mode*

A female worshipper³⁶ in the reliefs appears with this type of hair-style. She has dressed her hair in an exquisite fashion on the top of her head. It is also tied with a fillet. Further, the hair is plaited on either side (Fig. III, 6). This hair-style can very well be compared with peacock plume mode.

- (iv) *Hair dressed in fan shaped tiaras (Fig. III, 7)*

A lady appears in the relief with her hair arranged in an exquisite fan-shaped projection in tiaras over the head. The hair is

combed back from the forehead and arranged in high triple chignon bound round by a beaded wreath. This hair-style appears to be a rare one and a parallel example of this can be seen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. However, it becomes common only in later Gupta period.

(v) *The hair-plaited and allowed to sling from the nape (Fig. III, 8)*

This plaited hair is very short as compared to the *praveṇī* hair-style. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Sanchi reliefs do not depict anywhere the *praveṇī* hair-style which is very common in Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The absence of this hair-style and the presence of bun at Sanchi seems to be due to the fact that the *praveṇī* was not favoured by the people of the region and instead they preferred the bun in its place. In another instance³⁷ this type of hair-style is elaborately adorned with flower wreaths (Fig. III, 9). In this case, the hair is plaited from the nape and allowed to dangle but the tail end of the hair is left unplaited. A deviation to this hair-do can be seen in the female attendant in whose case the hair is combed back and arranged in two plaits³⁸ (Fig. III, 10). This hair-style very much resembles the Iranian hair-style.

(vi) *Coiffure of Śikhaṇḍa type*

A female of the *mithuna* couple³⁹ appears with this type of hair-style. She has arranged her hair by combing it back and raising a broad tuft over the head. The tuft is tied with a flower wreath. The *keśavīthi*, in this case, is prominent. This hair-style can be compared with *śikhaṇḍa* type, although the tuft is broad and truncated (Fig. III, 11).

(vii) *Hair combed back without parting line and terminating into a tuft at the back of the head and a loop shaped locks tucked into it*

A lady flute player⁴⁰ appears with this type of coiffure. She has combed her hair back without parting the hair and allowing it to form a tuft at the back of the head. A few locks of hair are arranged to form into a loop for tucking into tuft (Fig. III, 12). This is a new hair-do the survival of which can be seen even to this day.

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(vii) *Hair combed back without parting line and terminating into a tuft at the back of the head and a loop shaped locks tucked into it*

A lady flute player⁴⁰ appears with this type of coiffure. She has combed her hair back without parting the hair and allowing it to form a tuft at the back of the head. A few locks of hair are arranged to form into a loop for tucking into tuft (Fig. III, 12). This is a new hair-do the survival of which can be seen even to this day.

B. HEAD DRESSES

Head dress is a quite interesting feature of personal dress in the Sanchi reliefs. On majority of the cases, people appear in the reliefs with some sort of head-dress. However, the persons who took to ascetic life are exceptions to this. The variety of head-dresses that occur in the reliefs are many and range from a most simple head-dress comprising only a group of fillets to the most complex head-dresses decorated with jewels and other various devices.

Broadly, five categories of head-dresses are noticed in the male figures. They include (1) a ready-made turban, resembling the *pagri* like that of a modern *brāhmin* (2) a turban made by winding round the head a long rolled scarf so as to cover the hair wholly or partly (3) tiaras (4) crowns and (5) caps.

As regards the head-dress of women, sometimes we find a turban similar to that worn by men. There are also light head-dresses like a thin piece of cloth which covered the hair and hair-knot over which sometimes is tied a fillet on the forehead and the band round the hair-knot etc.

These head-dresses were generally embellished by fixing in them ornamental devices like discs, floral designs, probably, made of some metal or string-beads, gems or pearls.

I. HEAD DRESS OF MEN

(i) *Kings*

The kings appear in the reliefs with ready-made head-dresses. Thus, the king Ashoka's head-dress depicted on the Southern gateway⁴¹ is quite interesting. It is wound round the head in tiers and is interwoven with a long hair. It is tied in such a way that a ball of material, along with hair forms a sort of crest in the front (*Pl. 10a*). The practice of wearing turbans in this fashion was extremely common in early period. This is amply borne out by its innumerable illustration in the early Indian art of the *Suṅga*⁴², the *Sātavāhana*⁴³

and the Kushana period⁴⁴ as also in the Gandhāra⁴⁵ art. Even to this day, in many parts of the country, particularly in the villages in Mahārāstra and Punjab the turban is worn in the same way but the spherical protrusion is replaced by a fan-shaped one. A more elaborate head dress is however met with in the panel⁴⁶ depicting "the worship of the bodhi-druma". The king Suddhodhana wears an interesting head-dress. In this case some part of the scarf seems to have been rolled and kept in straight line with the top knot: then several rounds were wound and finally the end was passed through the folds, taken over the rolled part and tucked to the other side (*Pl. 22a*). Sometimes, kings are shown with an elongated rolled ornamental piece in their turban⁴⁷. This ornamental piece is decorated with beaded bands or pearl strings at the front end while at the back it has a disc shaped attachment embellished with a lotus-petal pattern. The whole piece may only be a wad of cloth, inserted at the junction of the transverse crossings of the turban. Sometimes, this ornamental piece is fixed on the left of the forehead.

(ii) Gods

Indra depicted in the panel⁴⁸ revealing "Veśantara jātaka" is shown wearing a curious head-dress which is tall and cylindrical. It is also decorated with chequered patterns all over (*Pl. 24c*). The tall, cylindrical head-dress is a special characteristics of Indra and this has become criterion for identifying his representation in early Buddhist art⁴⁹.

Again, the Māra represented in the panel⁵⁰ revealing "Māra's army", offers the common variety of the turban. In this, the hair is gathered in top-knot and one end of the scarf is made to cover it and the scarf is wound round the head (*Pl. 24 b*).

The *yakshas*⁵¹ depicted on the Northern gateway wear a turban with a pear-shaped top-knot over the head. However, a new type of head-dress is to be seen with a *yaksha* depicted on the Western gateway⁵². He is shown wearing a tiara with a ball like crest ornamented with lotus-petal patterns (*Pl. 27*). The crest appears to be only a copy in costly metal of that in the turban; the latter however,

represents the mass of hair. This head-dress, tiara marks the intervening stage in the evolution of turbans into tiara. This tiara can be identified as *ardha-makuta* mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*⁵³.

(iii) Princes

Fine example of the princes' head-dress can be seen in the panel⁵⁴ depicting "Viśvantara jātaka". Prince Viśvantara appears with a turban having the projecting part arranged in the shape of a conch shell (*Pl. 36*). The ornamental piece is embellished with beaded bands or pearl strings at the front and while at the back it has a disc shaped attachment decorated with a lotus-petal pattern.

(iv) Courtiers and royal personages

A *vyāla* rider probably a royal personage wears a tiara similar to the one seen in the case of *yaksha*. The tiara has a circular crest in the centre ornamented with a rosette boss⁵⁵. Another *vyāla* rider, in the same panel, wears almost similar tiara but with slight deviation. In this case, crest is seen on the right. Again, the tiara worn by the antelope rider depicted on the Eastern gateway⁵⁶ has a leaf-shaped projection attached to the basal strip (*Pl. 38*). Precisely, similar type of tiara is seen adorning the head of a male jungle dweller (*Pl. 34, b*) depicted on the Eastern gateway⁵⁷.

Such tiaras are conspicuously absent in the early Indian art and its presence at Sanchi unmistakably marks their beginning in the Sātavāhana period. The persistence of these tiaras can be seen in later Sātavāhana sculptures at Kanheri⁵⁸ and also in the terracotta figurines of the Sātavāhana period at Ter⁵⁹. The continuation of this type of head-dress can also be seen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa but their finest representations occur in the Vākātaka-Gupta art at Ajanta. Such dainty tiaras are referred to as *ardha makutas* and Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* prescribes *ardha-makutas* to generals and minor chiefs⁶⁰.

It is noteworthy that during the period of Sātavāhanas at Sanchi the development of turban into a delicate tiara (*ardha-makuta*) took place. What is more interesting is the solitary representation of a crown at Sanchi. It is well preserved in the excellent drawings of

Fergusson. This elaborate crown consists of a round basal strip of metal above which rises a vertical crest flanked by curved motifs. On either side are a series of curved bands. This may represent a *kirita* and can be taken to be the proto-type of the lavishly jewelled *kirita*s of the later period.

(v) *Amorous couple (Male)*

The male of the amorous couple depicted on the Western gateway⁶¹ wears a turban with an egg-like ball in the centre (*pl. 14*).

(vi) *Dwarfs*

Dwarfs appear in the reliefs with a turban having egg-shaped ball in the centre.⁶² Sometimes, this central projection is further embellished with a beaded strings as seen in the case of a dwarf illustrated on Western gateway⁶³.

(vii) *Demons*

Demons of the Māra's army depicted in the scene⁶⁴ revealing "the Great Miracles of Sambodhi" also wear turbans similar to those worn by dwarfs (*Pl. 35c*). The spherical protrusion in the centre of the turban is prominently seen. Demons of the Māra's army on the Northern gateway⁶⁵ reveal their head-dress with spherical protrusion (*Pl. 24 b*). The spherical protrusions occupied the head-dress in different positions. In some cases they are seen in the centre while in some other cases they are on the right side.

(viii) *Palace attendants (Males)*

In majority of the cases, the palace male attendants wore turbans with a spherical protrusion on the right side as seen in the panel⁶⁶ revealing "Vessantara jātaka" (*Pl. 24 c*). Precisely, similar type of head-dress can be seen with the male attendant carrying sandals in the Scene⁶⁷ representing "the Great Departure" (*Pl. 5b*). Again, the standard bearers depicted in the panel⁶⁸ revealing the "Great Miracle of Sanchi" wear turbans with conch-shell shaped projections in the centre (*Pl. 35c*). That the male *chouri*-bearers also wore similar type

of turbans with central spherical projections can be seen from the panel⁶⁹ revealing "the Great Departure". A male *chouri*-bearer wears a turban which has a pear-shaped ball over the head (*Pl. 5 c*).

(ix) *Caps*

The occurrence of caps in the Sanchi relief is scanty as compared to the other type of head-dress. Nevertheless, the specimens that are available are noteworthy and give us an idea of caps that were in vogue in the Sātavāhana period.

(a) *Conical cap* :— The foreigners depicted in the orchestra scene⁷⁰ wear conical and tall pointed caps (*Pl. 25 a*). Sometimes, these pointed caps were endowed with streamers which fluttered behind the person's head (*pl. 25 a*). This is seen in the case of the foreigner depicted in the same panel. Very similar caps with streamers are seen worn by foreigners, probably, Persians in the Bacchanalian scene at Ajanta⁷¹ in Cave 1 and at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa⁷², Mathura,⁷³ Gandhāra⁷⁴. These conical caps have been identified as the *kulaha* caps referred by Bāṇa. Agrawala rightly infers that the word *kulaha* has been derived from the Persian *khoḷa*⁷⁵.

(b) *Domical caps* :—The foreigners playing on *dundhubi* depicted in the orchestra scene⁷⁶ wear a domical cap with edged out rims (*Pl. 25a*). It is noteworthy that caps of similar type are still in use by the modern police of the Āndhra Pradesh.

(c) *Cylindrical caps* :—A foreigner playing on *mṛdaṅga* depicted in the "Orchestra scene"⁷⁷ wears a cylindrical cap which is decorated with rows of prominent studs (*Pl. 25a*).

(d) *Feathered caps* :—The goat riders depicted on Northern and Eastern gateways⁷⁸ wear a domical round cap. At the centre of the dome on the top is fixed a hollow tube to receive the feathers as can be seen in the illustrations (*Pl. 38*). The cap is decorated with studs all along the edge. Similar feathered caps are seen worn by the foreigners at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa⁷⁹ and in Gandhāra art⁸⁰.

(e) *Knobbed caps* :— A *vyāla* rider depicted on the Eastern gateway⁸¹ is seen with this type of cap. The cap has a round shape with a knob at the top (*Pl. 29b*).

(f) *Flat and truncated caps* :—This kind of cap is seen as worn by a *vyāla* rider depicted in Western gateway⁸². The cap has a flat truncated top with short straight sided rim (*Pl. 39b*).

(g) *Helmet (Śirastrāṇa)* :—A mahut⁸³ is shown wearing a helmet crowned by a knob.

II. FEMALE HEAD-DRESSES

As seen in the case of males, the female figures in the Sanchi reliefs are also shown in majority of cases, with head-dresses. The heads of women were generally covered with *orhnis* decorated with beautiful borders. It was simply a piece of cloth covering the head and falling down the back (Marshall & Foucher, 44, 45, 46). This orhni was at times secured to the head with girdles (Marshall & Foucher, 47, 48, 49). The top part of the orhni is sometimes arranged in the shape of fan (Marshall & Foucher, 50, 51) or superimposed with a fan-shaped ornament (*Fig. 52*). The women also wore sometimes turban (Marshall & Foucher, 53, 54).

In literature the word *Ushṇīṣa* meaning a turban occurs as early as in the Vedic period⁸⁴. *Ushṇīṣa* means which wards off head, (*Ūshṇamīshate hinasti iti*). At several places, the *jātakas* speak of the usage of turban (of golden cloth)⁸⁵. Vidura *pandita* alludes to different types of turbans for various social classes and signifying various offices⁸⁶. In the *Nidānakatha*,⁸⁷ it is described how Sakra tied the *Ushṇīṣa* on prince Siddhārtha's head.

Kālidāsa refers to the term *Veshtana*, which suggests a mode of tying the turban. This type of turban is generally wrapped or coiled round the head (*Veshtyate anena iti veshtanam*)⁸⁸. Ornamented golden strips, called *Paṭṭabandhas*, were at times, arranged on the turbans⁸⁹. In the *Kādambarī*,⁹⁰ various colours of turbans, to be worn by the lovers are spoken off. In Harsha's *Nāgānanda*⁹¹ the turban is extolled as one of the emblems of royalty. In the *Harṣacarita*⁹² turbans having artistically arranged big knots in the centre are mentioned.

In art the representation of turbans is profuse. It is amply sculptured in the Sunga⁹³, Sātavāhana⁹⁴, Kushana⁹⁵ and Gandhāra⁹⁶ art.

REFERENCES

1. According to Maisey, the frequent appearances of dwarfs, in processions, shows that in India, as in some other countries, European as well as Eastern dwarfs were part of the royal retinue (Maisey, *op. cit.*, p. 48, Footnote 1.
2. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 36.al.
3. *Ibid.*, 100.3.
4. *Ibid.*, 11.3.
5. *Stephane* was a broad strip of metal resembling the diadem and richly ornamented. These were several kinds of fastenings by which hair was artistically arranged. Thus, *Sphendone* was a kind of fastening, broad in the middle and narrow at the end. The Greeks also used nets (*kekryphalos*) and kerchiefs for tying round the heads. The Romans also tied up the heads with a fillet (*vitta*) or kerchief (*mitra*) (Seyffert, Oskar, *A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, (London, 1957), pp. 267 and 268.
6. *Amara*, p. 155.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
8. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 24.
9. Paul Gustaf Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*, plate 22 (Upasala), 1945.
10. Margarete Beiber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, (New York, 1960), figs. 190, 192, 196 and 197.
11. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 36. cl.
12. *Ibid.*, 36.cl.
13. *Ibid.*, 52.a3.
14. *Ibid.*, 23.1.
15. *Ibid.*, 52.c3, 29.3.
16. *Ibid.*, 91, 88a.
17. *Ibid.*, 29.3.
18. *Ibid.*, 126 e.
19. *Ibid.*, 51.bl.
20. Barua, *op. cit.*, III-XIII. 118; XIII. 114; XIV. 10; XX. 16; XXX. 25; LXXV. 98a; LXXVIII-106; LXXVIII-104; LXXXI-115; LXXXVIII-131; X-C-134; XCI-138.
21. Burgess, *op. cit.*, XV. 3; XVI. 5; XXXII. 1 etc.
22. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa) fig. VIII. 3.

23. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, V. 2; fig. 5, 10, 20, 25, 30, 54, 70, 72, 82 to 84, 86, 135, 153, 183; cf. Marshall, *op. cit.*, fig. 6, 10a, 54, 66, 92, 106, 113.
24. Maisey, *op. cit.*, pl. XII, fig. 2.
25. Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, 51.b1.
26. Maisey, *op. cit.*, Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, pls. XLVII & XLVIII.
27. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
28. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
29. B.N. Puri, *India under the Kushanas* (Bombay, 1965), illustration of an inscribed slab.
30. Agrawala, V.S. "Rajhat Terracottas", *JUPHS*, XIV, pl. 1, fig. 11. 64. Also cf. V.S. Agrawal, *Gupta Art*, pl. 1.
31. Agrawala V.S., "Art Evidence in Kālidāsa", *JUPHS*, Vol. XXII, 1949, p. 89.
32. Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, XCVIII.
33. *Ibid.*, XCVI.
34. *Ibid.*, CXX.
35. *Ibid.*, XXV.
36. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, LXXXVI, 66B.
37. *Ibid.*, CXXX d.
38. *Ibid.*, XXXII.
39. *Ibid.*, XVI.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*, 18. b2.
42. B.M. Barua, *Barhut*, BK. III, pl. LVII, 62; pl. LVIII, 63, 64 etc. (Calcutta, 1957).
43. Douglas Barrett, *Amarāvati Sculptures in the British Museum*, pl. V, (London, 1954).
44. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI.b.
45. Marshall, *op. cit.*, figs. 38-39.
46. *Ibid.*, 49.
47. Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, fig. 22.
48. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.3.
49. For an excellent discussion of Indra's head-dress *vide* Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Iconography—Indra", *Eastern Art*, Vol. 1, 1928, p. 33 ft.
50. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.2.
51. *Ibid.*, 36, a, b.
52. *Ibid.*, 66.a. Also see Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, (Sanchi), fig. 23.
53. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Ed. by M.M. Ghosh), Vol. 1, Ch. XXIII, 29, p. 430 (Calcutta, 1951).
54. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 23.1.
55. *Ibid.*, 66.b.
56. *Ibid.* 47.

57. *Ibid.*, 43.3.
58. Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. II, pl. 85 (New York, 1965).
59. Collections of Sri R.K. Lamture of Ter (quoted by Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, Sanchi), p. 37, foot-note 5.
60. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 430.
61. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 64.c1.
62. *Ibid.*, 57.
63. *Ibid.*, 59.
64. *Ibid.*, 61.2.
65. *Ibid.*, 29.3.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*, 40.2.
68. *Ibid.*, 61.3.
69. *Ibid.*, 40.2.
70. *Ibid.*, 36.c1.
71. Yazdani, *op. cit.*, pl. I, (Oxford, 1930), XXXIX.
72. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. IX, 11 and 12.
73. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pl. IV-a,b.
74. Motichandra, *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Veshabhūshā* (in Hindi), (Allahabad, 1953), p. 114, fig. 157.
75. *Harṣacarita*, *Ek Samskritika Adhyanana* (in Hindi) (Patna, 1955), p. 155.
76. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 26.c1.
77. *Ibid.*, 36.c1.
78. *Ibid.*, 32.2 and 47.b1.
79. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. IX. 13.
80. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 112, fig. 159.
81. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 48.a1.
82. *Ibid.*, 63.1.
83. Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, (Sanchi) fig. 54.
84. *Ushnīshine giricarāya kuluñcānaṃ pataye namaḥ*, Rudradhayāya, quoted by Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 104, foot-note. 1.
85. *Jātaka*, V. No. 532, p. 170.
86. *Ibid.*, VI, No. 545, p. 142; V. No. 532, p. 170.
87. Quoted from Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
88. *Raghuvamśa*, viii, 12. At Barhut and Gandhāra art mode of tying turban is clearly sculptured (Barua, *op. cit.*, Book III, XXII, 17c, Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 62, fig. 90).
89. *Raghuvamśa*, XVIII. 14.
90. *Kādambarī*, p. 118.
91. *Nāgānanda*, Act. i.
92. *Harṣucarita*, p. 109.

93. Barua, *op. cit.*, Book-III, pl. LVII, 62, LVIII, 63-64; XIV-10c, XIV-10, XX-16, XXII, 17b, 17d; XXII-17c, XXX-23, XXXV-26, XXXVII, 22, XXXVIII, 33, XLI-37; XLIII-40; XLVII-47, 50.
94. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. V. cf. also Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, figs. 1 to 12.
95. Marshall, *op. cit.*, figs. 38-39,
96. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER SIX

Musical Instruments

“Any instrument”, says Harrison¹, “made or used for producing sounds, whether pleasing to ears or not, may be classed as a musical instrument”. Traditionally, the musical instruments have been classified under four main groups namely, (i) stringed (*tata*), (ii) percussion (*ānaddha*), (iii) wind (*śuśīra*) and (iv) solid (*ghana*). The Sanchi reliefs illustrate all the varieties.

I. STRINGED INSTRUMENTS (*TATA*)

Two types of stringed instruments, namely (a) the bow shaped *vinā* or the harp shaped *vinā* and (b) the guitar type appear in the reliefs.

(i) *Bow-shaped or harp-shaped vinā*

In the main evolution of stringed instruments, says Harrison, “there can be little doubt that the musical bow must be given a prominent position and that this in turn had its origin in the twanging of the string of the hunter bow.”² This type of bow shaped *vinā* occurs in the reliefs more than once. It appears in the reliefs either as solo instrument³ or an accompaniment to dancing⁴ or song or music party⁵. The best example of the harp as a solo instrument can be seen in the panel⁶ illustrating “Indra’s visit”. In this the minstrel *Pañchasikha* is shown with a harp held horizontally with the tail piece in his right hand, while his left hand finger nails (*agganakheh*) are playing on the strings (*Pl.47a*). This art of sounding the strings softly with the finger nails was

technically known as *sāraṇa*⁷. The harp has a curved board (*ambhaṇa*)⁸ extending into an upstanding curved arm (*vinā danda*) terminating into a round head (*śiras*). Owing to the rough representation of the strings of the harp, it is difficult to ascertain the number of strings.

In the scene⁹ illustrating "Māra's army", a demon is shown playing a harp (*Pl.24b*) in the accompaniment of dance and song. He is shown with a harp held in horizontal position on his left thigh. He is playing the harp with his left hand finger nails while singing.

The harp, under discussion, has a curved board (*ambhaṇa*) extending into an upstanding curved arm (*vinā danda*) terminating into a round head (*śiras*). The strings are stretching one over the other, from the arm to the belly, passing through the holes (*chhindrāṇi*) provided in the hollow surface of the belly (*Pl.24b*). As the strings are reaching the sound board (*pokkhara*), one over the other instead of side by side, it has not been practicable to use bridge (*paṭṭa*) in the harp. The harp has five strings (*Pañca tantri vinā*).

The stringed harp was also played upon in the music parties as is known from the scene¹⁰ depicting "the six Deva Lokas". In this case, *vinā* player (*vādaka*) is a female musician and appears four times. This bow shaped *vinā* is exactly similar to the one described above (*Pl.21*). However, in this case the harp has seven strings and can be identified as the *sapta tantri vinā* which was also known as the *Parivadini* or the *Vipañchi vinā*¹¹. Like-wise the *vinā* of hundred strings is also referred to in the *Dhammapada Atthakatha*¹². Another example of *Sapta tantri vinā* occurs in the scene¹³ depicting the "episode of Nāgamuchalinda" (*Pl. 23b*). The bow shaped *vinā* is exactly similar to the one described above. A female musician is shown playing upon it. The chords of the *vinā* are being plucked by her right hand, probably by means of a plectrum (*kona*). The process of sounding the strings with the plectrum was known as *ghaṭṭana* or *konāghāta*¹⁴.

This type of harp-shaped *vinā* was evolved, evidently, on the principle of bow and resonator as it would be seen from its plastic representation. It occurs as early as in the prehistoric paintings of Central Asia¹⁵, which all the more supports the contention of Sivaramamurti that this harp was fashioned after the hunting bow, having the

strings of gut and may be regarded as the pre-runner of all the musical instruments in the world¹⁶. In ancient Egypt, the bow harp was called *bjn* or *bin* which becomes *vini* in Koptic¹⁷.

In early Indian art, the harp is portrayed profusely. The early sculptures of Barhut¹⁸, Pitalkhora¹⁹, Pawaya²⁰, Amarāvati²¹, Nāgārjuna-konḍa²², Golī²³, Mathura²⁴ and Gandhāra²⁵ portray harp. It continues in the 4th-5th centuries A.D. and occurs on the *vinā-vādana* coin types of Saundra Gupta²⁶. A terracotta figurine of the Gupta period discovered at Rupar illustrates a *vinā* of harp type²⁷. It wanes thereafter, probably, giving place to the guitar²⁸ type, which becomes very popular from 6th century A.D. onwards.

But one interesting feature of the harp type *vinā* is that in the early period it travels far beyond the frontiers of the country. As early as in the 1st century A.D., it appears in the frescoes in Samarkand and on frieze slab from Airtem in Uzbekistan²⁹. Later it travels to south-east Asia and still survives in Burma by the name Saun³⁰ and among the Afghan tribes in the north-western frontiers of the sub-continent.

(ii) Guitar type of *vinā*

This kind of *vinā* gets its depiction only once in the reliefs. Even this example is roughly represented. However, one can easily make out the shape of the *vinā* clearly although its details are obliterated greatly. Thus the scene³¹ representing the return of the perfectly accomplished Buddha to his native town reveals two musicians with guitar type of *vinas*. They have pear-shaped resonators (*pokkharas*) and straight neck (*Pl.6a*). However, the strings of the *vinā* cannot be made out.

The guitars have small pegs to regulate the tuning by tightening and loosening them. The musicians' right hand fingers appear to play on strings while their left hand is adjusting the tuning. Here the instruments are in the accompaniment of royal procession.

According to Raghavan³², this guitar has a close semblance to the *Kacchapī*, the favourite instrument. But K.V. Ramachandran³³ is

of the opinion that *Kacchapī* is a different instrument which still survives in Java. He regards the guitar as closely resembling the *citra* from which the modern *sitar* is derived. But this guitar appears to be, as construed by Coomaraswamy³⁴ more like a mandolin which has its survival in Travancore, *dunduni*. The mandolin is also very much like a Japanese *biwa* and is much less represented in the reliefs either replacing the harp or used together with it. In the stringed instruments of our reliefs, the frets and sympathetic strings are absent and evidently they seem to be a later development in the history of stringed instruments.

In the *jātakas*, the *viṇā* is stated to have formed part of an orchestra. The Tamil Saṅgam literature refers to various kinds of musical instruments (*Isaikaṟuvi*)³⁵. In the days of *Silappādikāram*, *viṇā* and the flute had highest recognition among the musical instruments. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata speaks of *citra* and *vipañci viṇās* and states that the latter consisted of seven strings³⁶. The poet Kālidāsa's reference to *viṇā* in his *kāvyas* are plenty³⁷.

II. PERCUSSION INSTRUMENTS (ĀNADDHA)

The *mṛdaṅga*, the classical drum of India, literally means "made of clay". Presumably, therefore, its body should have been originally of clay. Even to this day, we find large earthen pots are being used as such by the Indian drummers. In modern days, *mṛdaṅga* is invariably present both in vocal and instrumental music. The *mṛdaṅga* solos are indeed a real treat.

The reliefs depict many drums, of which, a majority are concert drums³⁸. However, the drums are classified in accordance with their position in which they are held for playing.

(i) Tabular Drums

(a) *Ankya mṛdaṅga* :—The scene³⁹ revealing Māra's army, illustrates a *mṛdaṅga* on the lap of a demon (Pl. 24 b). Since the representation is rough the other details of the *mṛdaṅga* are not clear. However, the position in which it is held, the *mṛdaṅga* can be identified as *ankya*

type of drum⁴⁰. Again, in the scene representing "Six Deva Lokas" *aṅkya mṛdaṅga* is depicted four times (Pl. 12). In one case a female attendant is shown keeping a *mṛdaṅga* on her lap and playing it with her left hand. In the remaining three cases, female attendants are shown keeping the *mṛdaṅga* on their laps. They are also having an *ūrdva mṛdaṅga* together and playing it with their left hand. As the *aṅkya mṛdaṅgas* are roughly represented, the other details of them cannot be made out.

(b) *Ālingya mṛdaṅga* :—The scene⁴¹ representing "the Nāgamu-chalinda episode", depicts a *mṛdaṅga* on the lap of a female attendant (Pl. 23b). She is playing the *mṛdaṅga* with her left hand, while her right hand is kept over the *mṛdaṅga*. Since the *mṛdaṅga* is roughly represented, the other details of the *mṛdaṅga* are not clear. The *mṛdaṅga* may be identified as *ālingya mṛdaṅga*⁴².

(c) *Ūrdva mṛdaṅga* :—The scene⁴³ depicting "Māra's army" reveals a *mṛdaṅga* kept on the ground in a vertical position (Pl. 24 b). Apparently, it had a single mouth on the top side. A demon of the Māra's army is shown playing upon it with his left hand. The vertical braces, probably of leather are seen passing through the holes in the leathern face, but no barrel-shaped blocks of wood seem to have been inserted in the braces for tightening as is done today. The braces are provided for tuning the instruments. As the *mṛdaṅga* is kept in an upright position, it may be identified as of the *ūrdvaka* variety of the *Amarakośa*⁴⁴. Again, the scene⁴⁵ representing "Six Deva lokas", illustrates *ūrdva mṛdaṅga* four times (Pl. 21). In all cases, a female musician is shown playing on it with her left hand. The vertical and horizontal braces of them are clearly seen. Evidently, the vertical braces of leather are made to pass through the holes of the leathern face. However, no barrel-shaped blocks of wood are seen inserted in the braces for tightening.

In art, *ūrdva mṛdaṅgas* occur at Barhut⁴⁶, Amarāvati⁴⁷, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa⁴⁸, Mathura⁴⁹, Gandhāra⁵⁰ and in the paintings of Ajanta⁵¹.

(d) *Muraja* :—Another variety of drum smaller than the those described above occurs in the scene⁵² representing "Royal visit". A

male musician is shown playing upon it with his hands (*Pl. 15 b*). The *mṛdaṅga* is made to dangle from his left shoulder by means of a leather strap or rope. The braces tied to the *mṛdaṅga* can also be made out easily. The *mṛdaṅga* possibly produced a more refined sweet sound than that produced by *koṇāghātas*. This refined sweet sounding *mṛdaṅga* may be of *muraja* type referred to by Kālidāsa.

Yet, in another place in the scene⁵³ revealing “the Great Miracle of Sambodhi”, *muraja* type of *mṛdaṅgas* are twice represented (*Pl. 35 c*). They are made to dangle from the neck of the male musicians by means of straps. However, the best example of *muraja* can be seen in the panel depicting “Ashoka’s visit to Bodhi tree”. It is made to dangle from the left shoulder of the musician by means of strap (*Pl. 5 c*). The braces of the instruments are quite clear.

(e) *Mardala* :—Yet, another variety of the drum is to be seen in the scene⁵⁴ depicting “the Great Miracle of Sambodhi”. It is made to cling from the shoulder by means of a strap. The musician is shown playing upon it with his both hands. The braces of the *mṛdaṅga* are clearly seen (*Pl. 25 a*). This drum which is typologically midway between the more refined *muraja* and noisy *patah*, may be identified as *mardala*. According to Sivaramamurti, the *mardala* is very much like the modern south Indian *tavil*. Precisely, similar type of *mardala* is met with in the scene of the feast celebrated by the Mallas of Kusinagara. A foreigner probably, Greek is shown playing on a *mardala* type of drum (*Pl. 25 a*). He is playing the *mardala* with both the hands. The *mardala* is made to dangle from his left shoulder by means of a strap. The horizontal braces of the *mardala* is clearly visible. However, no barrel shaped blocks of wood are inserted in the braces for tightening.

An excellent example of *mardala* occurs in the scene representing the “Great prodigy at Sravasti”. This tabular drum is having braces of leather passing through the holes in the leathern face. However, no wooden blocks are seen inserted in the braces for tightening (*Pl. 12 a*). The drum under reference very much resembles the modern *ḍholak*⁵⁵.

One noteworthy feature of some of the concert drums such as *muraja* and *mardala* is that they often required a kind of rice paste to

be applied to both the leather surfaces to sweeten their sound⁵⁶. It is this black paste which gives fine tone to the *mrdaṅga* lest it sounds like a mere *ḍholak*. The other face is applied with rice paste at the beginning. The tone, though sweet after the application of the paste, becomes coarse after diminution of that paste.

The concert drums described above were probably made of hollow block of wood with its faces covered with leather, possibly calf leather, as is the case today.

(ii) Kettle Drums

(a) *Dundhubhi* :— Apart from these drums there are other which are large and remind those used in temples and wars. In the reliefs they are represented in association with other musical instruments in a procession. The scene⁵⁷ representing the “Transport of Relics”, illustrates three sub-spherical shaped drums which may represent *dundhubhis*. Two of these *dundhubhis* have round base while the third one has flat base. The one with flat base has cylindrical shape. However, all the *dundhubis* have braces for tightening the instrument (Pl. 35a). Those *dundhubis*⁵⁸ resemble *nagara* or *dhauka* which is used today in temples and festivals. The *dundhubhis* represented in the relief are made to dangle by means of a strap from the right shoulder of the musicians. The musicians are shown playing them with curved *koṇas*. The *koṇā-ghātas* on them should have produced considerable sound. Such *nagāras* or *dundhubhis* are seen invariably played with *koṇas*. Precisely, similar type of *dundhubi* with round base are twice represented in the scene⁵⁹ illustrating “War of the relics”. As seen above the *dundhubhis* are made to dangle by means of a strap from the right shoulders of the musicians. They are being played upon with curved *koṇas* (Pl. 4c).

Another example of sub-spherical shaped *nagāra* gets its portrayal in the scene⁶⁰ of “the feast celebrated by the Mallas of Kusi-nagara. It is seen played upon by a foreigner, presumably Greek. He is playing it with both of his hands. The *koṇas* in the hands can be made out easily (Pl. 25a). Similarly, another example of cylindrical shaped *nagāra* (*dudhunbhi*) is met with in the scene⁶¹ illustrating the

“royal procession”. The musicians are shown playing upon them with *koṇas* (Pl.47b).

(iii) Frame Drums

(a) *Patah* (*Daph*) :—The scene⁶² depicting “the Great Miracle of Sambodhi”, reveals a disc shaped frame-drum. It is suspended by means of a strap from the right shoulder of the musician. He is playing the instrument with curved *koṇas*. The instrument is a single sided drum one side of which is covered with parchment. The instrument may be identified as *patah* (Pl.35c), which is exactly similar to the modern *daph*, *dappu* or *tappeta* of Andhra Pradesh and *tappidi* of Karnataka State or *daph* used in the Mahārāstra State. Even in the manner in which it is shown being played upon in the relief is characteristic of the present day drummer of this type. Precisely, similar *patah* (Pl. 5c) is met with in the scene⁶³ depicting “Ashoka’s visit to Bodhi tree”. A male musician is shown playing the *patah* with curved *koṇas*.

These *patahs* were used on different occasions. The one used in funeral processions was called *preta pataha*⁶⁴. On the war fields the drums like *patah dudhunbhi* etc., were struck. The auspicious drum like *prātaḥ kālanāndi patah* was struck in the early hours of morning to indicate the break of the day⁶⁵.

In the literature, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*⁶⁶ prescribes rules for playing upon the drums. The drums like *puskara*, *muraja*, *dundhubhi* etc., are spoken of by Kālidāsa in his *kāvyas*⁶⁷.

The early sculptures of Barhut⁶⁸, Amarāvati⁶⁹, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa⁷⁰, Mathura and Ajanta paintings⁷¹ depict many of the drums noticed at Sanchi.

(b) *Small hand drum* :—Apart from *patah* there is a rough representation of what looks like a small round-hand-drum in the scene⁷² of “royal visit”. A male musician is shown with this type of instrument (Pl.15b). It resembles the *daph* in shape but is smaller in size to it. The musician is holding it by the wooden frame and beats with fingers of the other hand. This small hand drum with its broad rim, probably of wood or metal and covering probably of skin very much

resembles the Greek *Tympanon*⁷³. However, it is interesting to note its survival in *Marfa*⁷⁴, commonly used by the *fakirs* of India. As the example under reference is roughly represented, the other details of it are not clear. In art, the Gandhāra sculpture⁷⁵ reveals one such small hand-drum resembling the Sanchi specimen.

III. WIND INSTRUMENTS (*SUSIRA*[S])

Of the *susira* variety, (a) flute (b) trumpet and (c) conch appear in the reliefs.

(i) *Flute*⁷⁶ (*venu*)

Flute shown in the reliefs is of two kinds, namely (i) transverse or horizontal flute and (ii) end flute or vertical flute. Both the varieties are based on the principle of a breath of air escaping through holes made in bamboo tube; they can be easily manufactured.

(a) *Transverse or Horizontal flute* :— The flutes that appear in the reliefs are tubular having their sound hole in the side of the tube near the proximal end, which is closed. They have usually open stops (holes) with varying number⁷⁷. These finger holes, *tāra randhras*, which would be in alignment with the sound hole or mouth hole, *mukha randhras* are not visible in the reliefs and as such the number of holes of the flute cannot be known.

The flute is frequently represented in the reliefs and it is seen played in the accompaniment of the other musical instruments in musical entertainment. The male musicians are seen in the reliefs invariably playing upon this type of instrument. Thus, the scenes⁷⁸ depicting “the Mahākapi jātaka” reveals a male musician playing upon a transverse flute (Pl. 13a). Similarly, the scenes depicting the transport of the relics⁷⁹ (Pl. 35a), “the Great Miracle of Sambodhi”⁸⁰ (Pl. 35c), the return of the perfectly accomplished Buddha⁸¹ (Pl. 6a), “Ashoka’s visit to the Bodhi tree”⁸² (Pl. 5c) and the “royal visit”⁸³ depict flutes being played upon in the accompaniment of other musical instruments by the male musicians (Pl. 47b).

(b) *End flute or Vertical flute* :—There is a solitary representation of a composite flute in the whole range of Sanchi reliefs. The scene⁸⁴ depicting “the feast celebrated by the Mallas of Kusinagara”, illustrates a composite pipe (double pan-pipe) being played upon by a male musician. It consists of two flutes joined together at one end from which it is blown (*Pl. 25a*). This may represent the Greek *syrinx* or pan-pipe⁸⁵. The *syrinx* was a folk instrument in Greece since Homeric times. The Greek painted pottery betray at several places this compound pan-pipes. On three vessels, amphora, cup and a bell krater of Attic period the composite pan-pipe can be seen painted⁸⁶. The Chinese too used a very similar instruments from very early period. The Greek *syrinx* or the pan-pipe consisted of a single tube, either open at both ends or close at one end. The air was blown against the edge of upper openings. Two or more tubes of varying lengths were usually combined to form compound pan-pipes⁸⁷. They were often graduated in length to form scale.

It should also be noted that the composite flute (double pan-pipe) is depicted in the reliefs as being played by a male, who from his dress, cap, boots and apparel seems to be a foreigner, probably, a Greek. Presumably, therefore, the pan-pipe could have been introduced to Sanchi by the Greeks. However, the double pan-pipe, noticed in the Sanchi reliefs, has no parallel in the entire range of Indian art save the Gandhāra specimen, where it is only a pan-pipe of single tube⁸⁸. This type of instrument pan-pipe, single or composite does not appear to have been found favour with Indian as it is totally absent in the later period. Yet, surprisingly enough, it is in use in the country particularly, in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and northern parts of Madhya Pradesh where the cow-boys, especially those belonging to the *Ahir* community play on it and the instrument is known as *alogojya*⁸⁹.

(ii) *Trumpet (Tūriya)*

In the scene⁹⁰ depicting “the feast celebrated by the Mallas of Kusinagara”, are illustrated (*Pl. 25a*) some persons presumably foreigners either Sakhas or Greeks⁹¹ as playing upon trumpets, which have their sides tapering towards a thin curved mouth, while they

broadened out towards the upper end which shaped like a swan's head.

The Greek name for this long trumpet is *Salpinx*. Like Roman “*tuba*”, it gives a deep clangorous sound and was used generally to give war signal in the army or employed in religious ceremonies⁹². Somewhat parallel example of this can be seen at Gandhāra⁹³.

Again, the scene⁹⁴ representing “Ashoka's visit to the Bodhi tree”, illustrates a trumpet or *tūrya* being played upon by a male musician in the accompaniment of other musical instruments like *mṛdaṅga*, flute etc.

(iii) Conch (*Śaṅkha*)

This type of instrument gets portrayal in the reliefs frequently. It is invariably shown being played in the accompaniment of other instruments in royal processions. Thus, the scene⁹⁵ representing “Ashoka's visit to Bodhi tree”, illustrates the conch five times (*Pl. 5c*). The male musicians are shown playing upon it. The conch is held by them in both the hands and is being blown while keeping it directly on the mouth. The process of blowing the conch was known as *dhamana* (blowing) or *pūraṇa* (filling).

The conch may be blown in three ways—side blown, end blown or blown through an attached mouthpiece. In the side-blown and end blown cases, the conch is blown into directly. In our reliefs the conch blowers have adopted the second method, namely the end blown. This method of blowing the conch can be seen in the scenes representing “the return of the perfectly accomplished Buddha”⁹⁶, “the royal visit”,⁹⁷ “the transport of the relic”⁹⁸ and “the war of relic”⁹⁹ (*Pls. 6a, 15b, 35a and 35b*).

In early Indian the conch is depicted profusely. The sculptures of Barhut¹⁰⁰, Amarāvati,¹⁰¹ Nāgārjunakoṇḍa¹⁰² and the paintings of Ajanta¹⁰³ depict conches. The excavations¹⁰⁴ at early historical sites like Nāgārjunakoṇḍa or Salihundam have also yielded inscribed and uninscribed conches.

IV. SOLID INSTRUMENT (GHANA)

Cymbals

The only *ghana* instrument that occurs in the reliefs is a pair of cymbals, probably of some metal. There is only a solitary representation of *ghana* in the whole range of Sanchi reliefs. Even the representation suffers from rough representation. However, one can make out the person playing with cymbals in the scene¹⁰⁵ representing the "return of the perfectly accomplished Buddha". He can be seen by the side of the Guitar player. The cymbals are simple and plain (Pl. 6a). Even to this day, such *kaṁśya tālas* are used particularly in *bhajans* and *hari kathā kālākṣhepams*.

In early Indian art, the depictions of cymbals are many. It appears in the sculptures of Barhut¹⁰⁶, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa¹⁰⁷, Gandhāra¹⁰⁸, Jamalgarhi¹⁰⁹ (in Yusufzai) and in the murals of Ajanta¹¹⁰. Apparently, the idea of playing upon cymbals (*kaṁśya tāla*) may have originated from the clapping of the hands (*karatāla*).

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1. H.S. Harrison, *Guide to the Collections in the Horniman Museum and Library*, London, County Council Publication, London, 1936.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 31; In Africa and in parts of Asia musical bows, which are of the same form and construction as the shooting bow, are still in use. In many African musical bows, a gourd is permanently attached to the bow stave. The use of more than one bow attached to a resonator, is a step in the direction of the harp.
3. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 35.b1; Coomaraswamy, *Parts of Vīṇā*, *JAOS*, Vol. 50, p. 245, 1930.
5. *Ibid.*, 29.2; *Divyāvadāna*, 553.
4. *Ibid.*, a1, to 4; *Sakkapaṇha Suttanta* (*Dīgha Nikāya*, 11, 265); *Avadānaśataka*, story, 17.
6. *Ibid.*, 35.b1.
7. *Mṛichchhakatika*, Act, i, p. 18.
8. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Parts of Vīṇā*, *JAOS*, Vol. 30, 1948, p 246.
9. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.2
10. *Ibid.*, 49.

11. *J.* 11.253; *Amara*, p. 48.
12. *DHA*, 1, 215.
13. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 65.a2.
14. *Mṛichchhakatika*, Act IV, p. 102; *Meghadūta*, ii, 25.
15. D.H. Gordon, *Pre-historic background of Indian culture*, (Bombay), 1958, p. 106, fig. 14 (2).
16. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-145.
17. Coomaraswamy, *JAOS*, Vol. 51, p. 47; Also see E.A. Wallis, *A Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum* (1909), p. 87, p. IX.
18. Barua, *op. cit.*, III, pl. XXXIX-36; A terracotta figure of Sunga period also depicts a seven-stringed harp.
19. Swami Paragnananda "Sapta tantri Vīṇā in the sculptures of the Buddhist cave at Ellora, Pitalakhora, *Roopalekha*, pl. XXIII, 1961, p. 34 ff.
20. *JNSI*, XXIII, 1961, pp. 270 f.
21. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, figs. 3 and 7.
22. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, figs. XII.1, 2.
23. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli sculptures), pl. VI-2, i.
24. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, pl. XLVI, b.
25. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. XX, 1.
26. A.S. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta gold coins in the Banyan Hoard*, Nos. 3-8, pl. VI. Also see *JNSI* XXIII, 1961, p. 268.
27. Sharma, Y.D., Past Patterns in living as unfolded by excavations at Rupar, *Lalit Kalā*, Nos., 1-2, fig. 24.
28. This early form of vīṇā passed through various alterations and gradually developed into a long hollow semi-cylindrical body with a number of keys on its sides for tying the strings to the lower and upper and respectively was attached a square sound board and a hollow gourd. In the further development the square sound board was replaced by a round gourd (Munshi, *The Sāgā of an Indian sculpture*, p. 8).
29. Jeean Jenkins, Musical Instruments from Central Asia, *Leader*, Daily, Patna, Aug. 14, 1960.
30. P. Sambamoorthy, *Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the Madras Govt. Museum*, p. 15, fig. 1.
31. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 50.a1.
32. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
34. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
35. Changalvarayan, N., *Music and Musical Instruments of the ancient Tamils QJMS.*, Vol. 26, pp. 82-90. The vīṇās like Periyāl (vīṇā of twenty-one strings), *Makarayāl* (with 19 strings), *Sakodayāl* (of 14 strings), *Senkothiyāl* (of 17 strings), *Adi-yāl* or *Perunkalan* (of 100 strings) are mentioned (p. 1). A good description of a vīṇā is found in the *Perumpānārrup Paddi* (lines 4-16).

36. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, XXVI, p. 6.
37. *Meghadūta* (2nd ed. of P. R. Deshpande and T.K. Tope, 1947), V. 92; *Ragh.* VIII, 33; 17, p. 45, V. 23; VIII, 25; XIX, 35; VIII. 41; *Rtu.* 1.3; 1,80.
38. The concert drums are understood to be those, generally, played to the accompaniment of other musical instruments in musical entertainments or in processions.
39. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.2. cf. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, figs-10 & 12; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII.
40. *Amara*, p. 29.
41. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 65.2.
42. *Amara*, p. 29.
43. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.2.
44. *Amara*, p. 29.
45. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 49.
46. Barua, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pl. XXXIX, 34.
47. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, 8-9.
48. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. XII, 5, 6.
49. V.S. Agrawala, *A short guide book to the provincial archaeological museum*, Lucknow, (Lucknow, 1940), pl. II, fig. 2a.
50. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, (Gandhāra sculptures), p. 86.
51. M.K. Dhavalikar, *Ajanta—A Cultural Study* (Poona, 1973), fig. XXIX, 8.
52. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 51.b.
53. *Ibid.*, 61.3.
54. *Ibid.*, 36.cl.
55. *Ibid.*, 34.a1; The later drum like *Duhul*, *Dhol*, *Dholki*, *dāk* of the Moghul times reveal semblance to the mardala of the ancient times.
56. *Gāthāsaptasatī*, iii, 53. The *mṛdaṅgas* of the present day also have similar circular fixture of black paste on their face. This paste is a mixture of manganese dust, boiled rice and tamarind juice, or a composition of iron filings and rice paste. The paste is very thick in the centre and thins out at the periphery. (Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*,) (Sanchi, p. 65).
57. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 61.1.
58. The later *Nagāra* and *Damāma* of the Moghul times very much resemble the Sanchi specimen.
59. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 61.2.
60. *Ibid.*, 36. cl.
61. *Ibid.*, 35.b2.
62. *Ibid.*, 61.3.
63. *Ibid.*, 40.3.
64. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
65. *Harṣacarita*, p. 125; *Raghuvamśa*, VI, 56.

66. *Naṭyasāstra*, pp. 73-74.
67. *Raghu*. XIX, 14; *Meghadūta*, 3; *Mal.*, 1.21; *Ku.*, VI. 40; *Māl.*, 1.22.
68. Barua, *op. cit.*, Book III, pl. XCVI—148 a, XCVII—148c; Cunningham, *Stupa of Barhut*, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX, fig. 26.
69. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII, figs. 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XXIII, XXVII, XXXVI.
70. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. XII, 10.
71. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, 1, p. 17, pls. XII—XIII, p. 22, pls. XVI—XVIII; II, pp. 41, 49, VI. p. 24.
72. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 51.b2.
73. Seyffert, *op. cit.*, p. 622; Cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, fig. 47.
74. Krishna Murthy, (Gandhāra sculptures), fig. XX, 9; p. 88.
75. The *Khanjarī* or *Chang* of the Moghul times betray semblance to the Sanchi specimen (Som Prakash Verma, *Art and Material Culture in the Paintings of Akbar's Court*, Delhi, 1978, p. 66, pl. LII, fig. 19).
76. Flute (GK. *Auios*-pipe, Lat. *tipia-shinbone*). The flute belongs to India from time immemorial (Wellesz., Ed.) *The New Oxford History of Music—Ancient and Oriental Music*, I, p. 222; Goswami, *The story of Indian music*, (Bombay, 1961,) p. 307.
77. Today the flute has eight holes. But in early days it had only seven holes—*Venuṃ gāyāni Sapta-chidram* (*Mṛicchakaṭīka*, Act. 7, p. 118).
78. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 61.1.
79. *Ibid.*, 61.1.
80. *Ibid.*, 61.3.
81. *Ibid.*, 50.a.
82. *Ibid.*, 40.3.
83. *Ibid.*, 35. b2.
84. *Ibid.*, 36.c1.
85. Syrinx was an Arcadian Nymph, daughter of a river God. She was changed by her sister into a reed in her flight from the enamoured Pan. Pan cut this reed into seven or nine pieces and joined them together with wax in gradually decreasing lengths to form the instrument called a *syrinx* or pan-pipe. This was chiefly used by herdsmen and shepherds and is one of the attributes found in pictorial representations of Pan. (Seyffert, *op. cit.*, p. 609).
86. R.M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, (London, 1960), fig. 42, 43, 48h.
87. Musical Instruments, pp. 57-58 (London, Horniman Museum, 1958).
88. Krishna Murthy (Gandhāra Sculptures), *op. cit.*, fig. XX-11.
89. M.K. Dhavalikar, *Sanchi, A Cultural Study* (Poona, 1968), p.67.
90. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 36. c1.
91. Whether the men here represented are Greeks or Sakas or the descendants of either can only be conjectured. They were at any rate followers of the local

- religion, whatever their original nationality and that Greeco-Bactrian, and Scythian colonists and adventurers penetrated for into India proper, and became mixed up with the local population, there are many independent proofs. (Maisey, *op. cit.*, p. 32).
92. Seyffert, *op. cit.*, p. 556 and 660.
 93. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. XX, 12.
 94. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 40.3.
 95. *Ibid.*, 40.3.
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 100. A. Cunningham, *Stūpa of Barhut*, I, pl. XXXIII, figs. 1, 2 and 3; Burgess, *op. cit.*, XCVIII-148 c.
 101. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, fig. 1 and 5.
 102. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. XII, II.
 103. Yazdani, *op. cit.*, I, p. 15; 1, pl XVI-XVIII, p. 22; IV, pl. XIX, XXVI, p. 45. IV, p. 107, pl. LXXIV.
 104. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 187-188; *IAR*, 1958-59, pl. VI-A, p. 8; Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIV-A. The discovery of the conches from the monastic and temple areas in these sites, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Salihundam is highly suggestive of their religious function.
 105. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 50. a.
 106. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
 107. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. XII, 12.
 108. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, (Gandhāra sculpture), fig., XX, 13.
 109. Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
 110. Yazdani, *op. cit.*, I, p. 17, Pls. XII-XIII; II, p. 4, pl. VII a & b, II, p. 49, pl. XLV-A; IV; p. 24, 26, 93.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Vessels and other House-hold Objects

I. VESSELS

The vessels depicted in the Sanchi reliefs are varied and typologically they include (i) bowls (ii) basins (iii) plates or platters (iv) vases (v) *kūjas* (vi) spouted vessels (vii) jars (viii) cups (ix) ladle (x) pots (xi) contrivance or device for carrying water vessels or baskets.

(i) *Bowls*

In the scene depicting the Māra's army on the back of the Northern gateway¹ (middle lintel), two demons of the Māra's army are shown, each holding a deep bowl in their right hands. The bowls have sharpened rims, straight sides and rounded bases (*Pl. 24b*). Again, precisely similar bowl is depicted in the scene illustrating "The monkey's offering at Vaiśālī". A monkey is shown holding a deep bowl in its left hand. Probably, the bowls represented in the reliefs can be identified with *Vaṭṭu* of the Jain literature or the *thālikas* of the Buddhist text².

Similar bowls are represented in the sculptures of Barhut³, Amarāvati⁴, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā⁵, and also in Gandhāra art⁶. Besides, the early historical sites like Amarāvati⁷, Kondapur⁸, Salihundam⁹, Yelleswaram¹⁰ etc. have yielded bowls of similar kind.

(ii) *Basins*

A basin is represented in the scene revealing, "Māra's army"¹¹. It has an everted rim and flattish base (*Pl. 24b*). It is kept on the floor before a demon of the Māra's army who is playing on a harp. This may

represent *kunḍa* ((Sk. *kunḍā*) mentioned in the Jaina literature¹². This vessel is still in use in both north and south India and is known as *kunḍā* or *konrā*, a thick basin¹³.

(iii) Plates or Platters

This is represented in the scene illustrating “the Bodhi druma worship”¹⁴. A female devotee is shown holding a platter, probably, containing flowers in her left hand, while right hand is holding *kamaṇḍala*. It is a shallow vessel with featureless rim and flat base. This can be identified with *thāli* or *thalliyā* of the Jaina literature¹⁵. Such platters are still in use both in north and south India and are known as *thālā* in Marathi and *Pallemu* in Telugu.

(iv) Vases

This is represented on a relief of the Stūpa-2¹⁶. It has everted, clubbed rim and bulbous body with pedestal base. Again, elsewhere, another flower pot or vase with its everted rim, tapering body and flat base is illustrated¹⁷. These flower vases or pots may well represent *piṇḍalaga* or *pupphacchajjiyā* (*Puṣpachādakā*) in Jaina literature¹⁸.

(v) Kūjas

Kūjas depicted in the reliefs are innumerable and they were presumably meant for carrying water for drinking purpose or for storing wine. Thus, the scene portraying “the Viśvantara jātaka”¹⁹ illustrates many *kūjas* held by ascetics, gods etc. In the same scene Indra characterised by his typical cylindrical crown and *vajra* (thunder-bolt) is shown holding a *kūja* in his left hand. It has a long vertical neck, globular body, and flattish base. Similarly, some of the ascetics are shown holding *kūjas* in their hands. The *kūjas* are having long necks, round body and flattish base. The scene portraying “the life in the hermitage” as a part of the same Viśvantara jātaka depicts a *kūja* evidently, a water vessel before a *parṇa śālā* along with other equipment like hearth, ladle etc. The *kūja* can be made out very clearly. It has a wide mouth, globular body and flat base (Pl. 24c).

Again, another relief²⁰ (on the front of the Northern gateway) portraying two same Viśvantara jātaka, illustrates the brahmin beggar with a ritual *kūja* in his left hand while the right hand is receiving the charity from the King Viśvantara (Pl. 36). In this case the *kūja* has vertical neck, ovoidal body and flat base. Precisely, similar *kūja* can be seen in the hand of Indra depicted in the scene portraying “the first devalokas” on the north pillar of the Eastern gateway²¹ (Pl. 21). The scenes depicting “miraculous victory over Nāga”²² (Pl. 19a) and every day life in hermitage²³ illustrates a fine example of *kūja* (Pl. 19b). They are having wide mouth, vertical neck and cylindrical body with flattish base.

The *kūjas* illustrated on the reliefs were mostly used for carrying drinking water and may be identified as *sarka*²⁴, in all probability the Persian “*surahi*”. It may be noted that presently, *surahi* or *kūja* is still in prevalence in many parts of India²⁵. The *kūjas* held by Indra and the ascetics in Sanchi reliefs may represent *kuṇḍika* of the Buddhist literature²⁶.

In early Indian art the depiction of *kūjas* are copious. The sculptures of Amarāvati²⁷ and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa²⁸, illustrate many *kūjas* akin to the Sanchi specimens. It is in the Gandhāra art²⁹ they become more popular as is evident from their frequent sculptural depictions.

The prevalence of this type is amply attested by the excavations at many early historical sites in Āndhra Pradesh like Dharaṇikota, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Salihundam etc. Similarly, they are in large numbers in western India and the Deccan and are ascribable to circa 1-5th century. This pottery is technically known as “*Red polished ware*” and said to be the Indian imitation of the Roman “*Samian ware*”³⁰. It is of fine fabric with thin section and has a polished surface. It is interesting to note that the “*Samian ware*” is available in Amarāvati³¹.

(vi) Spouted vessels

In the scene representing “*Parinirvāṇa*”,³² a female attendant is shown with a spouted vessel and a plate probably, containing ritual offerings. The spouted vessel has a wide mouth, short neck and bulbous

body. A spout is luted to the body. A handle is also seen provided with on the top of the vessel (*Pl. 32b*). Precisely, similar spouted vessel occurs in the scene representing "Shaddanta jātaka"³³ (*Pl. 4b*). In the relief, Shaddant is shown preceded by his spouted vessel orbearer.

That this spouted vessel is invariably used for ceremonial purpose is evident from their frequent depictions in the reliefs³⁴. Thus, the scene representing "Bodhi-druma worship" on the front of the Northern gateway³⁵ illustrates two female devotees pouring libation from spouted vessels to the Bodhi-druma. The spouted vessels illustrated here are precisely similar to those described above.

In the scene depicting the king in the pleasure garden,³⁶ illustrates a fine spouted vessel (*Pl. 39b*). It is kept on the floor by the side of the king's throne. The spouted vessel is very much akin to the above described vessels and reveals its prominent long spout.

The spouted vessels with handles luted on the toy may be identified as *kamaṇḍalas* which are still being used by the ascetics or *fakirs* of India. The *kamaṇḍalu*³⁷ used by the Jaina monks and the *dharma karaka*³⁸ used by the Buddhist monks were the same as those found in the reliefs.

In art, the illustration of the spouted vessels with handles either on the side or on the top are in plenty and appear in the sculptures of Amarāvati³⁹, Barhut⁴⁰, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa⁴¹, Mathura⁴² and in the Gandhāra art⁴³.

(vii) Jar with goblet as lid

One of the reliefs⁴⁴ on ground balustrade of stūpa-2 depicts a water jar with a goblet used as a lid. The water jar has bulbous body and round base. A goblet is placed over it upside down to serve as a lid to the jar. The goblet has wide mouth, tapering sides and flat base. The sides of the goblet are tapering towards the base.

(viii) Water bottle

The scene illustrating "the Viśvantara jātaka"⁴⁵ depicts a water

bottle. A hunter is shown with a water bottle secured in a net of strings (Pl. 24c). The water bottle has a high neck, bulbous body and round base. The water bottle may represent *maṇika*⁴⁶. The *Silappadikāram*⁴⁷ relates as to how strings were tied to a water bottle for carrying.

(ix) Cups

The wine cup is represented in the scene illustrating the "Great prodigy"⁴⁸. The male of the couple is shown holding a cup in his hand while his lady love is shown sitting on his lap evidently, indulging in love dalliances. The wine cup has a wide mouth, tapering sides and flat base (Pl. 12c).

These wine cups can be identified as *casaga* (*caṣaka*) or *pāna-pātra*. Such wine cups in large quantities have been recovered from Sūṅga, Sātavāhana, and Kushana sites⁴⁹ and also at Begram in Afghanistan⁵⁰.

The literary evidences tend to confirm to profuse practice of drinking in ancient India. It is interesting to note that large quantities of wine was imported from Roman empire during the early centuries of the Christian era as a result of the trade with the Mediterranean countries⁵¹.

In art, the portrayal of the wine cups is profuse. They appear in Sūṅga⁵², Sātavāhana,⁵³ and Kushana art and continued in the Gandhāra art⁵⁴.

(x) Ladle

Ladles are illustrated in the Sanchi reliefs more than once. In the scene illustrating "the life in the hermitage" represents a ladle. An ascetic is shown pouring probably ghee from a ladle into the sacred fire. In all probability, the scene is intended to show the performance of the vedic ritual by the ascetic. The ladle consists of a small circular receptacle to which is attached a long, horizontal handle (Pl. 19b).

Again, the scenes representing "the miraculous victory over Nāga"⁵⁵ and the "Village scene"⁵⁶ illustrate ladles (Pl. 19). They are

shown intended for ceremonial performances. Ladle is an inevitable appendage in a vedic ritual. They are used for pouring ghee or butter in the sacred fire in vedic performances. Evidently, therefore the Sanchi specimens could have been utilised for similar purposes. The ladles consist of a small tongue shaped receptical to which is attached a long horizontal handle (*Pls. 19 a & b*). Precisely, similar ladle for similar purpose occurs in the scene representing "Śyāma jātaḥ"⁵⁷ (*Pl. 23a*).

The ladles illustrated in the Sanchi reliefs may represent *Juhū* of the vedic literature⁵⁸. The ladles are also known as *dāruḥastakas* as their handles are of wood⁵⁹. In Jaina and the Buddhist texts⁶⁰ ladles are mentioned.

Ladles are however, rare in ancient Indian sites. The silver ladle used for ceremonial purpose is reported to have been recovered from Kushana levels at Rupar⁶¹. Again, a ladle made of beaten copper and identical in shape to the Roman *patella* comes from Taxila⁶².

(xi) Pots

The reliefs illustrate two kinds of pots, namely, (a) miniature pots and (b) huge storage pots. The miniature pots were the vessels used presumably for taking water or any other liquids, from bigger receptacles or pouring water in small quantities. The huge storage pots as the name indicates might have been used for the storage.

(a) *Miniature pots* :—A miniature pot with externally thickened rim, spherical body and round base (*Pl. 46a*) is illustrated in the scene⁶³ depicting "the Great departure". A female attendant is shown holding it in her left hand. Again, a miniature pot is met with in the scene⁶⁴ depicting "Six Devalokas". It is seen kept over a stool (*Pl. 21*). Its description tallies exactly with the one described above.

Similar miniature pots used for pouring water around the Bodhi tree are met with in the sculptures of Amarāvati⁶⁵ and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā⁶⁶.

These miniature pots may represent the *karagas* (*karakas* of the Jaina literature⁶⁷ and the *Paribhojanīya ghaṭas* of the *Vinaya texts*⁶⁸.

The sculptural representation of these in early Indian art is plenty and the sculptures of Barhut⁶⁹, Amarāvati,⁷⁰ Nāgārjunakoṇḍa⁷¹ and of Gandhāra⁷² show many such miniature pots.

(b) *Huge storage pots* :—A water pot with externally thickened rim, spherical body and round base is represented in the scene⁷³ depicting “Ashoka’s visit to Bodhi tree”. The pot is decorated with applique finger tips pattern around the body (Pl. 10b). Precisely similar water storage pot is again met with in the scene⁷⁴ illustrating the “Viśvantara jātaka”. A female attendant is shown holding it on her waist in the typical characteristic posture of the present day lady.

Again, four male devotees are shown with storage pots of different sizes in the scene⁷⁵ depicting “Ashoka’s visit to Bodhi tree”. The storage pots are having externally thickened rims, bulbous bodies and round bases (Pl. 5c).

Sometimes the *pattamaṇḍalam* was provided beneath the pot kept on the floor, for giving a firm rest as is evident from the scene depicting “Bodhi druma worship” on the back of the Eastern gateway⁷⁶ (North end) (Pl. 29b). A water storage pot is shown kept on the floor with a *pattamaṇḍalam*.

In the scene⁷⁷ depicting “the miraculous victory over Nāga”, a novice is shown fetching water from the Niranjana river. The pot is exactly similar to those described above. In the same scene, there is also depiction of a decorated water storage pot. It is decorated with a floral design around the body (Pl. 19b).

A water storage pot with externally thickened rim, high neck, bulbous body and round base is depicted in the scene⁷⁸ illustrating Śyāma jātaka. It is seen kept on the bank of a pool (Pl. 23a).

These storage pots may represent *udaka maṇika* or *pāṇiyaghata* of the Buddhist texts⁷⁹. The sculptures of Barhut, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Mathura and Gandhāra reveal many pots of this kind⁸⁰.

(xii) *Contrivance or device for carrying water vessels or baskets*

The scene⁸¹ depicting “the life in the hermitage” reveals a person

with a device or contrivance for carrying water vessels (*Pl. 18*). The device consists of a wooden stick (*yaṣṭi*) at both the terminals of which are suspended nets (*jāla*) of string. The woodenstick is kept horizontally over the shoulder and two water vessels are kept in two of the nets suspended at the *yaṣṭi* terminals. Although it cannot be made out from the illustration, in order to give a firm rest for the watery vessels the *pattamaṇḍalam* is usually kept or woven in each net⁸².

In yet another scene illustrating "the Transportation of Relics", a person is shown with a device of this but used for a different purpose. In this case, instead of net made of rope, a cloth bag is seen tied at the terminals probably, for keeping food articles in it. Apparently, he must be carrying food articles in it. It is interesting to note that even to this day similar devices are being used by the *Jogis* or modern saints of South India, and such cloth bags are meant for carrying food and go by the name *joli* in Āndhra Pradesh and *padsī* in Mahārāshtra state. The device consisting of the horizontal bar with net or cloth bags suspended from its terminals is very common in present days in many parts of India. It is known as *kāvadi* in South India, *kāvad* in Mahārāshtra state and *Bahingi* (*Skt. Vihangikā*) in north India.

That this mode of carrying water was prevalent is confirmed by many of their sculptural depictions at Barhut⁸³ and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā⁸⁴.

Apart from the above examples yet a different kind of usage of this device can be seen in the scene depicting "Viśvantara jātaka"⁸⁵. A hunter is shown carrying two haunches of antelopes balanced on his shoulder at the end of a stick (*Pl. 17a*).

II. OTHER HOUSE-HOLD OBJECTS

Next to vessels, trays and baskets were the necessary house-hold objects. The reliefs represent them copiously and they include trays of different sizes for keeping fruits, victuals, turbans etc., and small and large baskets for carrying flowers and eatables etc.

(i) *Trays*

(a) *Small trays* :—The scene⁸⁶ representing “*Parinirvāṇa*” illustrates a small tray of wicker work. A female devotee is shown carrying offerings probably, flowers in it. The tray is shallow with straight sides and flat base (*Pl. 32 b*). As it would appear from the relief it has chequered design, probably, rendered by plaited technique. In the scene depicting⁸⁷ Bodhi druma worship, *kinnaras* are shown carrying small round trays containing offerings probably flowers. The trays are shallow with straight short rims. It is difficult to make out the material with which they are made of as the illustration is very indistinct. Precisely, similar trays are again met with in this scene depicting “Return to Kapila vastu”⁸⁸ (*Pl. 25c*).

(b) *Large trays* :—The scene⁸⁹ depicting “Sambodhi of the Buddha” reveals two large trays held by two female devotees. The trays are shallow and round in shape. Precisely similar tray is met with in the scene⁹⁰ depicting “the Great departure”. A clear example of a round large tray occurs again, in the scene⁹¹ depicting “Bodhi druma worship” (*Pl. 16*). Elsewhere⁹², large round shaped trays occur. The male devotees are shown holding them. Probably they contain flowers for offerings. They are shallow with incurved sides and incurved rims with flattish base (*Pl. 28b*). A large rectangular tray occurs in the scene⁹³ representing “transportation of Gautama’s turban”. The tray has horizontally splayed out rim and flat base (*Pl. 10c*).

From the carvings it is difficult to make out the material with which the trays were made of. The archaeological evidence however, shows that they were usually made of stone as is evident from the large number of trays unearthed at Taxila⁹⁴. They are assigned to the Śaka-Pārthian period and betray unmistakable Hellenistic influence⁹⁵.

(ii) *Baskets*

(a) *Small baskets* :— The scene⁹⁶ depicting “the Bodhi druma worship” reveals a small basket. A female devotee is shown holding it in her left hand while her right hand holds a *kamaṇḍala*. The small basket is round and deep. It has straight sides and flat bottom. In

another scene⁹⁷ depicting "Stūpa worship" is revealed a small basket containing offerings. The basket is deep with straight sides and flat base and is very much akin to the above one.

(b) *Large baskets* :— An excellent example of a large basket appears in the scene⁹⁸ depicting "the life in the hermitage". Mādri is shown returning from fruit-picking with a large basket full of mangoes. The basket is deep with wide mouth, straight sides and flat base (Pl. 24c). Again, in the scene⁹⁹ depicting stūpa worship, *kinnaras* are shown with large baskets which are akin to the one described above.

In art, representations of baskets occur in the sculptures of Barhut,¹⁰⁰ Amarāvati,¹⁰¹ Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,¹⁰² Gandhāra¹⁰³ etc.

(iii) *Hearths*

Hearths are represented more than once in the reliefs. In the scene¹⁰⁴ depicting "life in the hermitage", a hearth for a sacred fire is illustrated. It is having a wide mouth, straight sides and pedestal base (Pl. 24c). Viśvantara in his ascetic dress is shown performing vedic ritual. The sacred fire is created in the hearth and he is pouring probably, ghee with a ladle (*juhū*) into the sacred fire. All the other prerequisites for the vedic performance such as ceremonial vessel, bundle of sticks (of *asvatha* tree), a fire-tong etc. are all available. It is interesting to note that hearths of similar type are still in use for domestic purpose in North and South Indian house-holds. In Āndhra Pradesh, it is known as '*Kumpati*'.

Again, in the scene¹⁰⁵ depicting miraculous victory over Nāga, hearths are depicted. A hearth evidently, fire altar is shown in temple with dome raised on pillars. The hearth is in hour-glass shape different from the one described above. In this case, it has a longer and broader pedestal base (Pl. 19a). In the same scene another hearth of similar kind is seen in front of a *parṇa śālā*. Viśvantara in sage's dress is getting ready for vedic performance. All the ritual requisites like ladle, fire altar (hearth), bundle of sticks, ceremonial water vessels are kept ready.

Precisely, similar type of hearths are again met with in the scene¹⁰⁶ depicting everyday life in hermitage. In one place the hearth is shown being filled with fuel. In another place hearth is being fanned by an ascetic. In yet another place an ascetic (presumably Viśvantara) is pouring ghee into the sacred fire (*Pl. 19b*).

(iv) *Fire-tong*

The fire-tongs are illustrated along with the vedic ritual equipments. Thus, in the scenes¹⁰⁷ depicting “miraculous victory over Nāga”, and “the every day life in the hermitage”, reveal fire-tong. They are tong-shaped, split lipped objects with long handle as shown in the illustrations (*Pl. 19*). They may probably represent *śapha* of the vedic literature¹⁰⁸. It is a wooden implement, acting like a pair of tongs, for lifting an iron pot from the fire. It is probably, so called because it resembled a hoof being divided.

(v) *Bundle of sticks*

The scene¹⁰⁹ representing “the every day life in the hermitage”, reveals bundle of sticks along with other ritual objects necessary for vedic performance like ladle (*juhū*), hearth, ceremonial vessel, fire-tong etc. These sticks (*samidhas*) are intended for serving as fuel to the sacred fire. Such sticks (*samidhas*) are of asvatha tree (*Pl. 19b*).

(vi) *Mortar and pestle*

The scene¹¹⁰ depicting “the rural life in the village of Uruvilva”, illustrates a mortar and a pestle (*Pl. 15*). A lady is shown pounding grain with a pestle in the mortar. The mortar (*Utukhala*) is in hour-glass shape and is undoubtedly of stone. The pestle (*musala*) is evidently, of wood and the lady is shown standing while pounding the grain. Exactly similar pestles and mortars can be seen even today, particularly in the coastal areas of Mahārāshtra, Āndhra Pradesh where rice is pounded in the very same way as is shown in the reliefs. It is a common sight in the rural areas of Telangana and Rāyalaseema of Āndhra Pradesh where the ladies are seen pounding the rice and other millets with the mortar and pestle in the similar way.

(vii) *Stool quern and muller*

The scene¹¹¹ depicting "the village of Uruvilva", illustrates stool quern and muller. A woman is shown crushing or grinding a *cari* powder on a stool quern with a muller (*Pl. 18*). In fact, her attention is apparently distracted by the conversation of the man sitting near her. Such stool querns and mullers are found in early historic levels at ancient sites all over the country.

In the same panel, (*Pl. 18*) a woman in standing posture is shown grinding or rolling something with a cylindrical muller on a tripoid like object. According to Foucher the lady is rolling the cake. This would reveal that the method of rolling cakes in a standing posture existed in India at such an early period. This novel method of preparing cakes is undoubtedly un-Indian. The Indian imitated this typically Greek method of preparing bread as early as to the time of the execution of the Sanchi reliefs.

(viii) *Winnowing basket*

This is represented in the scene¹¹² illustrating "the village of Uruvilva". A lady is shown with a winnowing basket in which she is winnowing grain (*Pl. 18*). The basket is shallow and oblong with one of its sides rounded. Again, in the scene¹¹³ depicting "every day life in the hermitage" reveals a winnowing basket (*Pl. 19b*). A male is shown precisely with a similar winnowing basket but here he is shown utilising it for a different purpose. He is shown pouring some object probably, fuel from the winnowing basket into the hearth.

These winnowing baskets are referred to as *sūppa*¹¹⁴ (Sk. *Sūrpa*).

(ix) *Bamboo pole and a net*

In the scene¹¹⁵ depicting "the village Uruvilva", a male presumably, a fisher man is shown with a bamboo pole and a fishing net (*Pl. 18*). He is shown proceeding towards lotus pond for catching fish. He holds a bamboo on his right shoulder while his left hand holds a net. Incidentally, the scene reveals the fisherman's equipment of the period under study.

(x) *Pegs*

That the practice of hanging wreaths, garlands and drapery on pegs was prevalent can be known from the scene¹¹⁶ depicting "aquatic sports". Interestingly, Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtras* refers to such pegs (*nāga dantas*) provided in a drawing room of a *nāgarika*.

(xi) *Fan*

This is depicted in the scene¹¹⁷ representing every day life in the hermitage. A person is shown coaxing the sacrificial fire with a matted square shaped fan (*dhavitra*) with side handle¹¹⁸ (Pl. 19b). In art, the square shaped fans occur in the sculptures of Amarāvati, Nāgārjuna-konḍa, and in the paintings of Ajanta.

(xii) *Axe*

The scene¹¹⁹ representing the every day life in the hermitage illustrates an axe (Pl. 19b). An anchorite is shown splitting the asvantha tree wood intended for the fuel of the vedic ritual with a primitive axe. Similar way of splitting the fire-wood for kitchen with an axe still persists.

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16. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 78, 22b.
17. *Ibid.*, 78, 21b.
18. Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
19. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.
20. *Ibid.*, 23.
21. *Ibid.*, 49.
22. *Ibid.*, 52. a2.
23. *Ibid.*, 52. a3.
24. Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-273.
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26. Buddhist monks are said to be carrying a water *kūja* known as *kuṇḍika* which was the same as Sanchi specimens. (James Legge, "Record of the Buddhist kingdoms being on account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hein of his travels in India and Cylone, (A.D. 399-414), London, 1950, p. 112, fn. 1.
27. Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII-2.
28. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, pl. VII-2.
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31. Samian Ware fragment is available in the Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati (Āndhra Pradesh).
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33. *Ibid.*, 15.2.
34. *Ibid.*, 11, 22, 23, 29, 41, 43.
35. *Ibid.*, 22.
36. *Ibid.*, 63.
37. Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
38. *Cullavagga*, V, 3, 1 and VI, 21, 3; cf. also *Mahāvamśa* (Ed. Geiger), p. 90; *Karaka*, *Karakarika* and *Karakari* (Sanskrit), *Harṣacarita*, p. 156 are the same vide Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 142, fn. 1.
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51. E. H. Warmington, *Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, (Cambridge, 1928), p. 265.
52. Barua, *op. cit.*, XXXVI-30.
53. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V. 20; Burgess, *op. cit.*, XVI-2.
54. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 341.
55. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.
56. *Ibid.*, 52. a2.
57. *Ibid.*, 65.
58. Macdonell and Keath, *op. cit.*, II, p. 289.
59. *Amara.*, p. 207.
60. A term "*Doa*" in Jaina literature denotes a wooden ladle used for serving vegetables or any other preparation of grams. Its exact counter-parts in Marathi is the *Dava* and the Gujarati *Doyo* which still serves the same purpose. In Gujarati, we also get a word *Kadachi* denoting a spoon with a long handle and deep bowl. (Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 36); also vide *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 290, VIII, 5. 2. We get a word *Kaṭaccus* to mean ladles or spoons.
61. Sharma, Y.D., Past patterns in living as unfolded by excavations at Rupar "*Lalitkalā*", No. 2, 1956, p. 127. J.
62. Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 594; pl. 175, No. 305.
63. *Ibid.*, 35.
64. *Ibid.*, 49.
65. Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI, fig. 3.
66. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, 10.
67. Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
68. *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 292; VIII, 5, 3. They resemble the modern brass vessel called "*chembu*" prevalent to this day in Andhra Pradesh and other states of South India.
69. Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. V. 5.
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71. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, 10.
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81. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 52.
82. Longhurst calls this device or contrivance as "Pingo" (p. 51).
83. Barua, *op. cit.*, LXXIII-95, LXXVI-95, LXXVI-99, LXXX-III, XCIII-137.
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93. *Ibid.*, 18.
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108. Mocdonell and Keith, *op. cit.*, II, p. 353. Also see *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, i, 22, 14; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV, 2.1, 16; cf. Eggling. *Sacred Books of the East*, 44, 458, n. 4. 476. There is also another word *Dhr̥ṣṭi* which seems to denote fire-tong in vedic literature (Macdonell and Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 403).
109. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 52. a3.

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111. *Ibid.*
112. *Ibid.*
113. *Ibid.*, 52. a3.
114. S. A. Joglekar, (Ed) *Gāthāsaptasatī*, V. 557, (Poona, 1956). In *Atharvaveda*, an instrument *pavana* is referred to for purifying grain from husks (iv. 34, 2; XVIII, 3, 11; cf. *Nirukta* vi, 9).
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116. Maisey, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII, fig. 1.
117. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 52. a3.
118. The *Śathapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIV. 1, 3, 30; 3, 1, 21) and the *Taitthirīya Āraṇyaka* (V. 4.33) denote *Dhavitra* as a fan of hide or leather for blowing the sacrificial fire.
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CHAPTER EIGHT

Furniture

Man's predilection for comfort has created a host of household articles. Furniture¹ is one among them. The furniture depicted in the Sanchi reliefs are varied and includes (1) thrones (2) moras (3) wicker stands (4) foot-stools or foot rests (5) bed-steeds.

I. THRONES

The reliefs illustrate a good variety of thrones. "The throne", says Hocart, "expresses by physical means, the king's moral superiority and it symbolizes a womb of sovereignty (*kṣātra*)². The thrones represented in the reliefs are simple, providing accommodation for one person only. Some thrones are so low that they need no foot-stools while some are high enough to necessitate a foot-stool. Some thrones have four legs while some have solid low appendages. Of the legged thrones, some have pillar shaped or *āmalaka* shaped legs while a few others have animal shaped supports.

(i) *Throne with solid lower-base but devoid of back and arm-rests*

This type of throne is illustrated in the scene³ representing "Rishya Śringa jātaḥ". The Brahmin anchorite is shown sitting cross-legged over a throne with solid base, having almost square shape. It has neither arms nor back. Again precisely, similar throne is carved on the Eastern gateway⁴. In this case, a *dharmacakra* is seen installed over a throne with solid lower appendage (Pl. 49). That this

type of throne was also used to keep *vajra*, the symbolic representation of Buddha is known from the panel⁵ depicting the "second Great miracle in the Master's life—the Sambodhi". The throne is exactly similar to the above described ones (*Pl. 16*). Sometimes, these thrones were lengthy or rectangular as seen in the panel⁶ depicting the worship of bodhi-druma. It is a rectangular throne, evidently bigger in size to those described above, with its solid base. The upper cornice and the middle oblong portion of the pedestal is devoid of any decoration. Yet, in another panel⁷ depicting the "Gift of Jetavana", a different kind of throne is revealed. It is circular in shape with solid base and is seemingly made of stones (*Pl. 12b*). A child is shown sitting over it.

These thrones with solid bases may be identified as *prosthās* of the *Rigveda*⁸ or the *mīdhīs* of the *Cullavagga*⁹. The commentary of *Vinaya*¹⁰ explains it as the *pīṭha-palaka*.

In art, the parallel examples of these thrones are met with in the sculptures of Amarāvati¹¹, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā¹² and Gandhāra¹³.

(ii) *Throne having legs but without arm-rests*

This type of throne is illustrated in the scene¹⁴ depicting Māra's army". Māra is shown sitting over this throne with his right leg dangling. The throne is having pillar shaped or *āmalaka* shaped legs (*Pl. 24 b*). The legs are akin to the *āmalaka vantikā pīṭham* mentioned in Pali text. Presumably, the technique adopted in the fixing of the legs, appears to be turnery¹⁵. The throne is provided with a rectangular foot-stool (*pāda-pīṭha*). Māra is shown resting his left hand on the top bar of the back, while his right hand is held high. A precisely, similar throne is met with in the panel¹⁶ depicting "Six Devalokas". The throne is provided with a rectangular foot-stool as seen in the case of the throne described above (*Pl. 21*).

In another scene¹⁷ depicting "the Paradise of Indra on mount Meru", a throne of this variety is depicted and Indra is shown sitting over it. The pillar shaped or *āmalaka* shaped legs are clearly visible. The throne is provided with a rectangular foot-stool. Indra is keeping his left leg over it. He is leaning against the back of the throne keeping his left hand on the top bar of the back.

These thrones having pillar shaped or *āmalaka* shaped legs and without arms may represent *addha pallaṅkas* mentioned in Pali texts¹⁸. The word, *Pallaṅka* (in Pāli) means an embellished chair or a dignified chair and is synonymous with the Sānskrit word *Paryaṅka* or *Paryaṅkikā*¹⁹. Ordinarily, the legs of the *Pallaṅkas* were composed of bulbous portion of one or more stepped pyramids. The *āmalaka vantikā piṭham* mentioned in the Pāli texts is the chair which has legs of this type²⁰. These thrones with or without arms but having pillar shaped legs persist through the early Indian sculptures since Sāta-vāhana period. However, they become very common in Vākātaka-Gupta period as is evident from their frequent mural depictions and can be regarded as rich seats.

(iii) *Throne having legs with arm-rests but without back*

There is a solitary representation of throne of this type. The scene²¹ depicting "the king in his pleasure garden", (or park), illustrates him sitting over it. The throne has a rectangular seat mounted on legs with broad square bases. Presumably, the technique adopted in the fixing of the legs, appears to be turnery. It has no back, but is provided with side-arms. The side-arms are decorated with vertical multi-bands (*Pl. 39b*). The throne is provided with a foot-stool. This kind of throne is only confined to the early period. It is depicted in the Sūṅga and Sātavāhana art at Barhut²² and Ajanta²³ respectively. Some of the terracottas of Koshambi ascribable to Sūṅga period also reveal such thrones²⁴. It is present at Gandhāra²⁵. But what is interesting is that such seats with side-arms were very common in the Hellenistic and the Roman world from where this type appears to have been found its way into India. However, it does not appear to have found favour with Indians in the later period for the obvious reason that it has not afforded to sit in the true Indian fashion of cross-legged posture.

(iv) *Throne having animal figures as legs or supports but devoid of arm-rests*

This variety of throne is depicted in one of the Sanchi sculptures²⁶. The Buddha²⁷ is shown seated in *padmāsana* on a lotus

throne supported by two lions. The throne has no arm-rests. The lion supports of the throne can be made out from its paws. As the ends of the top bar of the back are mutilated their details are not available. This is the solitary example of this type of throne in the whole range of Sanchi relief. Even here the sculpture is of 5th Century A.D. and as such they are totally absent in the early Sanchi reliefs.

The throne having animal figures (lion) as arm-rests or legs or both, may probably represent *simhāsanas*. In the *Rāyapaseṇiya Sutta*, the different parts of the throne is enumerated²⁸. The Pāli text informs that *Simhāsana* made of fig wood was used on the coronation day and other ceremonial occasions.

Generally, the lion thrones (*simhāsanas*) are meant for the use of deities and kings. According to Rajendra Lal Mitra²⁹ "the name of the throne *simhāsana* is derived from the images of the lions (*simha*) which originally formed its supports, but the secondary meaning of a state chair or throne soon set aside the derivative meaning of a lion seat and such words as *pāda-padma simhāsana* (lotus-lion seat), *Gaja-simhāsana* (elephant lion seat) got into currency from very early time".

Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*³⁰ prescribes lion seat to be used only by gods, kings and the chief queens. Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa*³¹ speaks of a *simhāsana* made of gold and decked with gems. Gopinatha Rao explains it as a four legged seat, circular or rectangular in shape and one *hasta* or cubit in height. The four-legs of this seat are made up of four small lions³².

However, it is interesting to note that the *simhāsanas* have a fairly wide distribution in India during the early period. The two stone figures of griffins found at Patna (3rd-2nd century B.C.) have been identified by Stuart Piggot as supports of a throne of the Mauryan Emperors³³. Their wide distribution in early Persia has led Piggot to trace their origin to Western Asia³⁴. This view has to be accepted in the light of Persian influence on the imperial Mauryan art³⁵. Later, *simhāsanas* gained their popularity in the subsequent depiction in the sculptures of Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Mathura, etc.

However, the lion motif appears to be one of the most ancient decorative symbols, probably, typifying the royal nature of the furniture of early people. In Egypt, only lion paws and heads alone were used as terminal decorations. In Gothic representations, they appear more often as grotesque or in heraldic shapes.

(v) *Lotus throne*

This type of throne occurs in the reliefs more than once. Thus, the scene representing "Nativity", on the back of the Northern gateway³⁶ (west end) illustrates Maya sitting over lotus throne. Thus, throne may be identified as *Padmāsana*, enumerated in the *Mānasāra*³⁷.

II. MORAS AND SEATS

The depiction of the *moras* and seats in the reliefs are varied. In some cases, persons are provided with seats befitting their status. However, this convention is not strictly adhered to as a rule, in all the cases. For instance, the cane-seats or *moras* generally, prescribed for the sages or ascetics, sometimes, appears as seats intended for vendors, queens, devas, despite their distinguishable social status in the society.

(i) *Cane-seats or moras (Vetrāsana[s])*

These *moras* or circular cane-seats appear more frequently in the reliefs as compared to the other seats. Different classes of people, irrespective of their social position appear in the reliefs, occupying this cane-seat or *mora* (*Vetrāsana*). Thus, the queens, vendors, royal personages, Devas, Nāginis are illustrated in the reliefs sitting over the *moras*³⁸.

These cane-seats are often seen stuffed with cushions, (*bhisi*). They are either low or of medium height and at times contain very elaborate decoration. The cushioned cane-seats with their different shapes and designs must have accorded a pleasing appearance besides being comfortable to sit on.

In the scene³⁹ depicting “the king in pleasure garden”, an elaborate circular cane-seat or *mora* is seen. It is of medium height and is decorated with two row arches divided by a horizontal line. Over this, a cushion stitched in the criss-cross fashion is placed (Pl. 39b). The queen is shown sitting over this *mora* with her two legs resting on a foot-stool (*pāda-pītha*).

Two examples of cane-seat are again met with in the scene⁴⁰ depicting “Six Devas”. One of them is elaborately decorated (Pl. 21). It is of medium height and is decorated with a row of cross-mark and wavy line in double lines, alternately. Over this, a cushion is stitched in chequer pattern. The other cane-seat (Pl. 21) is somewhat of low height and is decorated with herring-bone pattern. A *deva* is shown sitting over this cane-seat with his right leg dangling. Precisely, a similar low cane-seat with herring-bone design is seen⁴¹ being used by a female vendor in the scene depicting “Ashoka’s visit to the Bodhi tree”. In the same scene another vendor is shown sitting over a high cane-seat. It is decorated with two rows of arches divided by three horizontal lines (Pl. 10b). The cane-seat is stuffed with a cushion⁴².

A different variety of cane-seat is seen occupied by a *Nāgini* in the scene⁴³ depicting “Nāga Muchalinda episode”. The cane-seat is circular in shape and is of medium height. It contains a decoration which includes beaded pattern and criss-cross design (Pl. 44a). Over this, is stitched a cushion, the stitching marks of which are clearly visible. In some cases, the *moras* are shown used by the royal personages like *upa-rājas*. In one instance⁴⁴, a royal personage is seen sitting over a low cane-seat. It is decorated with a row of consecutive arches with circular top as shown in the illustration.

(ii) Seats

Sometimes, pillows or cushions by themselves, were used as seats. Thus, the scene⁴⁵ depicting “the transportation of the head dress”, illustrates three circular low cushion seats (Pl. 10c). Devas are shown sitting over them. Again, the scenes⁴⁶ depicting “the worship of the *Bodhi druma*”, reveal similar circular cushion seats being occupied by royal personages.

In the scene depicting "the village Uruvilva", a village woman with her winnowing basket is shown sitting over a different kind of seat. It is a rectangular low seat mounted on legs (*Pl. 18*). In the scene representing "hermitage life", illustrates an anchorite sitting over a similar seat. It is also a rectangular low seat mounted on legs. It informs that such blocks of wood were widely used by ascetics, more especially by the junior members of the Buddhist order at the time of taking meals.⁴⁷ Interestingly, such blocks of wood are still used in south India for taking food and in Telugu it is known as *pīṭa*. These seats also resemble, the modern *Chowki* used in the north India today. In art, the paintings of Ajanta reveal similar seats⁴⁸.

The scene⁴⁹ revealing "Six Devalokas" illustrates a seat or stool of different kind. It has a solid square base with a circular top (*Pl. 21*). A *kūja* is shown kept over it. Somewhat parallel example of this we get in Barhut sculptures⁵⁰. Interestingly, such type of stools are available even to this day.

Another type of seat is met with in the scene⁵¹ representing "the life in the hermitage". An anchorite is shown sitting over a mat, presumably of reeds (*Pl. 24c*), while performing the religious ceremony. This mat may probably, represent the *bhitti* of the vedic literature.⁵²

The *moras* or cane-seats which can be identified as *Vetrāsanas* are very common in early Indian art and literature. They are present in the sculptures of Barhut, Amarāvati, Goli, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Mathura and Gandhāra and on the caves of Bhaja, Badami (Cave No. 1) and Ajanta (cave x)⁵³. Parallel examples are also seen on some of the ivories from Begram datable to 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.⁵⁴ They persisted in these art centres. However, at Ajanta, they are in profusion, in early period, but wanes in the later period to give place to rectangular seats.

In the Buddhist literature seats made of *khus-khus*, *muñja* and reeds are mentioned.⁵⁵ The *mahāvagga* refers to the word *kochcha* which means a cane bottomed chair.⁵⁶ Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*⁵⁷ prescribes the *moras* to the persons according to their social status.

Thus, the princes, ministers etc. are to occupy the *munda* seats (cane-seats). Probably, the modern *mora* might be related to the word *munda* as both signify identical form and material. Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasambhava* refers to a cane-seat, *Vetrāsana*.

III. WICKER STAND

There is only a solitary representation of the wicker stand⁵⁸ in the Sanchi relief. The representation of the wicker stands in the Indian art is rather sparse. Only, in the sculptures of Amarāvati,⁵⁹ Nāgārjunakoṇḍa⁶⁰ and Mathura⁶¹, the wicker stands are depicted more than once. In the Barhut and the Gandhāra sculptures and in the paintings of Ajanta they are almost absent.

At Sanchi on a western pillar,⁶² a wicker stand is illustrated. Some eatables are kept over it. It is a circular stand made of cane and fashioned like a pair of truncated cone with their apieces together.

These wicker stands can be identified as *Paṭṭakaṇḍolika(s)*. In the *Cullavagga*,⁶³ they are termed as *Paṭṭakaṇḍolikas* and the monks were allowed to keep their things like bowls etc., on the wicker stands. The wicker stands were also used for serving food when they had wooden tops. Such of them may be identified with *bhojanaphalakas* of Buddhaghosha⁶⁴.

IV. FOOT-STOOLS OR FOOT RESTS OR PĀDA PĪTHAS

The foot-stools (*pāda-pīthas*) represented in the Sanchi reliefs are rectangular in shape and appear to be of simple wood blocks. Sometimes, they are seen decorated with vertical bands. These foot-stools are generally, seen associated with thrones and occasionally with cane-seats.

The scene⁶⁵ depicting "the Māra's army" illustrates a rectangular foot-stool (*pāda-pītha*), provided to an *addh-pallaṅka*. Māra is shown sitting over the throne. The foot-stool provided to this throne contains a decoration of veritical bands on the exterior of the oblong middle portion of the foot-stool (*Pl. 24b*).

Again, similar rectangular foot-stools occur in the scene⁶⁶ representing "Six Devalokas." Here, some of the foot-stools betray vertical band decoration on their oblong middle portion (*Pl. 21*). These foot-stools are provided to a throne. Sakra is shown sitting over the throne with his left leg resting on the foot-stool.

That this type of foot-stool was sometimes provided to the cane-seat (*vetrāsana*) can be known from the panel⁶⁷ revealing "the king in the pleasure garden" (*Pl. 39b*). In this case, the foot-stool is provided commonly both to the cane-seat and the throne. The queen is sitting over the *mora*, while the king is sitting over the throne. The rectangular foot-stool is sufficiently large to accommodate both the legs of the king and queen. This is the only instance where a foot-stool of the rectangular shape is provided to a cane-seat and also is commonly shared by a throne and a cane-seat.

In art, the parallel example of the rectangular foot-stool occurs in the sculptures of Barhut,⁶⁸ Amarāvati,⁶⁹ Nāgārjunakoṇḍā⁷⁰, Gandhāra⁷¹ etc. The representation of this type of rectangular *pāda-piṭhas* only at Sanchi show that they were extremely common and popular in the later half of the first century B.C.

In literature, the *Suttavibhaṅga*,⁷² the *Mahāvagga*⁷³ and the *Cullavagga*⁷⁴ speak of the *pāda-piṭhas* profusely.

V. BED-STEADS

The bed-steads are depicted in the Sanchi reliefs more than once. Generally, the bed-stead has a wooden frame consisting of four beams; two beams are short and the other two are long (nearly twice the length of the shorter ones), then each of a pair was perhaps kept parallel to each other and joined at the ends to form a rectangular frame of the bed-stead. The short sides comprised its breadth and the longer ones its length. Two holes were probably made at the ends of each of the two shorter beams and then the side beams were fixed into them.⁷⁵ At the four corners of the frame four legs, presumably, manufactured by the technique of turnery, were fixed. All the five

parts of the leg from top to bottom, namely head (*siras*), pitcher (*kumbha*), shank (*Jangha*), base (*ādhāra*) and roof (*khura*) are easily seen. The *kumbha* is so-called evidently because of its shape like a pitcher. It is referred to as *āmalaka* in the Buddhist literature.

The frame of the bed had, probably, strong cord woven across and running through holes pierced in it. The bed-stead is made either of wood, cane or split bamboo and is the *vetrapaṭṭika* mentioned by Bāṇa⁷⁶.

At Sanchi, in one of the reliefs⁷⁷, couples are shown seated on a bed-stead in a garden. Three pairs of couples are depicted in the same panel⁷⁸ sitting over a bed-stead (*Pl. 14 a&b*). These bed-steads may represent *okasa-sanāsanam* of the Buddhist literature. The pillar shaped legs of the bed-stead can be easily made out. Again, the scene depicting "the episode of the conception" illustrates a bed-stead. However, it is partially seen. The queen Māyā is seen lying on the bed with her right arm so kept as to serve as a pillow and the knees stretched (*Pl. 6a*). This *prasarita* posture as classified by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*⁷⁹ is the usual posture of Māyā invariably found in the sculptures depicting "Māyā Devi's dream" in early Indian art.

These bed-steads may be identified as *Mañca* of the Buddhist literature. The *Vinayapitakas-Suttavibhaṅga*, *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga* refer to *mañcas* profusely.⁸⁰ In fact, four kinds⁸¹ of *mañcas* namely, a long one (*masaraka*), one with slots (*bundikabaddha*), one with curved legs (*kulirapadaka*) and one with removable legs (*ahacca padaka*) are enumerated.

Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*,⁸² gives the various lying-down postures in bed. The poet Kālidāsa⁸³ refers to the words *talpa* and *paryaṅka* which mean a high bed-stead. Subsequent works like *Amarakośa*, *Mānasāra*, *Bṛhat Samhita*⁸⁴ etc., make frequent references to the bed-steads known to the period.

In art, the sculptures of Barhut,⁸⁵ Amarāvati,⁸⁶ Nāgārjunakoṇḍā⁸⁷ Gandhāra⁸⁸ etc., depict bed-steads.

REFERENCES

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2. Hocart, A.M., "The Throne in Indian Art", *Ceylon Journal of Science*, No. 439, Vol. I, pt. 3, 1927, 117-123.
3. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 27.1.
4. *Ibid.*, 42 and also see 55.
5. *Ibid.*, 51.a2.
6. *Ibid.*, 26.2.
7. *Ibid.*, 34.2.
8. VII. 55, 8.
9. *Cullavagga*, V. 94 and VI. 2.4.
10. *VA.*, 1216; *Vin.*, ii. 43, *Midhi*; *Vin.*, text, iii., 163 says that it is built against the outer wall of the house or hut made of hardened mud with two wooden legs. In front it is a bench to sit or sleep on.
11. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XIVII-1; D; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XII, XXXV.
12. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
13. *Ibid.*, (Gandhāra), fig. XVII-1.
14. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.2.
15. The chief novelty introduction by the Greeks was the wide spread use of turnery after 6th century B.C. The art of turning on the lathe was probably developed in the wood producing areas of the Middle East whence it spread slowly to the Greek-main land. In the later Hellenistic period, turning was introduced into Egypt and other parts of the Roman world. In all probability, it came to India through Greeks, Sakas or Romans in 2nd century B.C.
16. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 49.
17. *Ibid.*, 96.
18. *BD.*, 11.271, n. 3; *Cullavagga*. 1, 8. VI, 14; *Mahāvagga*, V. 10.4.
19. *Kādambari*, p. 17: *Kālidāsa* refers to a word *Vistara* which means an honoured 'seat worthy of a royal house.
20. *Vinaya texts*, iii, p. 165; *Cullavagga*. VI. 2.4.
21. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 63.2.
22. A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Barhut*, (Varanasi, 1962), pl. XLVIII, 2.
23. G.L. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, pt. III, pl. LXXX-C.
24. The terracottas are available in Central antiquity section, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.
25. Sir John Marshall, *Buddhist Art in Gandhāra* (Cambridge, (1960).
26. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 125.d.
27. The image of Buddha belongs to rather late period and is ascribable to 5th century A.D.

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29. Rajendralal Mitra, *Indo-Aryans contribution towards the elucidation of their Ancient and Medieval History*, (Calcutta, 1881), 1, p. 250.
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33. Stuart Piggot, "Throne Fragments from Pataliputra", *AI*, No. 4. 1947-48, pp. 101-103.
34. *AI* No. 4, p. 103.
35. Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, (Ajanta), p. 93.
36. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 30.
37. The later work *Mānasāra* lists out thrones like *Śirṃhāsana*, *Padmāsana*, *Padma-kesara*, *Padma-bhadra*, *Sri-bhadra*, *Srivisala*, *Bhadrāsana*, *Padma-bhadraka*, *Srī-mukha*, *Vijaya* etc., M., also see P.K. Acharya, *An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, Vol. vii, pp. 522, 298, 304, 380, 459, 499, 522 etc.
38. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 63.2, 18.b2, 76, 14a, 49. b, 19.c1.
39. *Ibid.*, 63.2.
40. *Ibid.*, 49.
41. *Ibid.*, 18.b2.
42. For version see *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 393, 372-3 (Trans. in J. Przyluski's *La légende de L'empereur Asoka*, Paris, 1923).
43. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 19.c.
44. *Ibid.*, 76., 14.a.
45. *Ibid.*, 17.b.
46. *Ibid.*, 34.a1, 35.a2 and 65, 62.
47. J. Takakasu, (T. by) *A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (A.D. 671-95) by I-Tsung. Oxford, 1896, p. 22.
48. Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, (Ajanta), fig. XXV, 11.
49. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 49.a2.
50. Barua, *op. cit.*, XCI, No. 136.
51. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.3.
52. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 5, 3, 9. cf. *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, vii, 3, 24. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* uses the word *Bhitti* to mean a mat made of split reeds.
53. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, (Nāgārjunakoṇḍā), p. 170.
54. Auboyer, J., *Ancient Indian Ivories from Begram*, *JISOA*, Vol. XVI (1948), p. 44, fn.3.
55. *Cullavagga*, VI. 4.
56. *Mahāvagga*, 10.2.
57. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 236.
58. The term wicker according to Aronson is generally used for furniture woven of various natural or synthetic materials such as willow, reed, rattan or spirally twisted paper (Aronson, *op. cit.*, p. 459).

59. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. LXV (90): Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XII-17.
60. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
61. Cf. Mathura specimen at the British Museum.
62. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 103.
63. *Cullavagga*, iii, 86, V. 9.4.
64. *Vinaya Texts*, iii, p. 165; *Cullavagga*, VI, 2, 4, fn. 7.
65. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.2.
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67. *Ibid.*, 63.2.
68. Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXIX, 135, 133 and XCVII, 148c.
69. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. V. 15; VII, 53; XII, 118; XLIV, 89.
70. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. XI. 2; p. 173-175.
71. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 34, fig. 54; pl. 69, fig. 98; pl. 69, fig. 98; pl. 92, fig. 128; pl. 93, fig. 129; pl. 105, fig. 144; and Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 11.
72. *BD.*, III, *Sanga Disease*, IV. 1, *VA*, 913.
73. *Mahāvagga*, i, 6, ii, i, 25 etc.
74. *Cullavagga*, 1.28, viii.
75. Varahamihira in his *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* prescribes a specific order (*pradakṣhinagra*) in fixing the frame of the cots or bed-steads. The *apsavyagra* order is strictly forbidden and supposed to cause fear from ghosts (*Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, LXXXVIII. 27); vide A.M. Shastri.
76. *Harṣacarita*, p. 151.
77. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 64. c. Dr. Dhavalikar identifies them as *asandis* (*Sanchi-A Cultural Study*, Poona, 1965, p. 55).
78. *Ibid.*, 64.
79. Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* speaks about the various kinds of lying down postures on the bed. They include *akuncitā*, *sama*, *prasarita*, *Vivartita*, *Udvahila*, and *nala* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 236) (p. 234).
80. I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, i, 1, 48, 5, 1k, 11, 3; i, 11, 1 etc. *BD.*, ii, VI, 1; *BD.*, iii. LXXXVII, 2, 1 etc. *BD.*, IV, V, 10, 4, etc.
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CHAPTER NINE

Conveyances

Generally, the conveyances are of two kinds, namely those for land transport such as horses, elephants, camels, mules etc., and wheeled vehicles like carts, carriages, chariots and others for water transport like boats etc.

The conveyance represented in the reliefs, though scanty, include both the means of transport namely, the land and the water.

I. LAND TRANSPORT

The means of land transport, illustrated in the reliefs include (i) beasts of burden such as horses, elephants, camels, bulls, goats and stags and also (ii) wheeled vehicles like carts and chariots.

(i) *Beasts of Burden*

Horse:—Among the beasts of burden used as a mode of transport, horse is important. The Sanchi reliefs reveal it as being used both for riding and pulling the carts and chariots. However, the usage of the horse for the riding appeared to be more common than for other use.

Horse riding appeared to be very popular as it is evident from their frequent sculptural depictions. The princes, kings and soilders are shown in the reliefs riding the horse. The horses are seen used in royal processions and war. Evidently, the horse was not a common Man's vehicle and is found always used by the royal personages and

soldiers. As it would appear from the sculptural representations of the horses at Sanchi, they seem to be of excellent breed and were probably imported from Central Asia and Persia for the people of the Kamboja country. Yudhisthira is said to be presented with horses of finest breed from their country.¹ Of the breeds portrayed in the Sanchi reliefs two atleast are clearly distinguishable, namely, a light riding pony² very much like the present day Arab and a sturdy type of draft horse³.

However, the effective use of the horse as a riding animal was largely developed by the nomadic people of the Steppelands of Asia during the last millennium B.C.⁴ In Greek by 8th century B.C. the horse riding was a developed art as is evident from the recorded evidences on the vases. By classical times cavalry had superseded chariotry as an instrument of war. At Sanchi the horse riding possibly came with Greeks, Śakas and Persians.

The horses revealed in the reliefs are having rich trappings⁵. The horses depicted on the middle false capitals in front of the Western gateway⁶ (Northern end) reveal well caparisoned horse (*Pl. 28*). The horse has trellised saddle *paryāna*. The saddle⁷ could have been a piece of cloth, probably, stuffed or of leather. The bridle consists of this strap, presumably of leather and includes a forehead band, check-piece and nose-band. The rein is simple and appears to have been knotted or sewed on to the bit⁸.

It is interesting to note that the horse-bit is clearly seen in the relief⁹. Arrian's statement that the horse-bits were absent in India at the time of his visit, has given rise to a controversy. He says¹⁰ "the Indians have neither saddles nor bridles like those which the Greeks and celts make use of; but instead of bridles they bind a piece of raw bullock's hide round the lower part of the horse's jaws, to the inner part of which the common people fix spikes of brass or iron, not very sharp, but the richer ones have them of ivory. Within the horse's mouth is a piece of iron like a dart to which the reins are fastened". Fergusson,¹¹ relying on Arrian's statement, credited the Hellenistic Greeks with the introduction of horse-bits into India and has quoted in support of his contention, the similarity between the words for

snaffle in Sānskrit (*khalina*) and Greek (*Xarivos*) and their presence in the Sanchi reliefs. Fortunately, this controversy is settled by the testimony of another authority. Megasthenes also mentions horse-bits.¹² Moreover, the admission by Arrian of the use of an iron bit and the evidence of reins for horses, being mentioned in the *Rigveda* are adverse to Arrian's observations.

Apart from the saddle and the bridle the horse is further embellished with a breast band (*kakshya*) and another similar band at the back passing from below the tail. The rear band is decorated with a row of floral design. A fly-shisk or Yak-tail crest is adorning the head of the beast. Similar trappings of the horse can also be seen with the horses depicted on the false capitals of the Northern gateway¹³ (Pl. 33).

That the horse riders used stirr-ups (Pl. 43) can be known from the horse-depicted on the back of Western gateway¹⁴. Again, one can make out a stirr-up from the depictions made on one of the reliefs of Stūpa-2¹⁵. The rope passing over the rider's knee appears to have served for a stirr-up. If these examples are to be taken as stirr-ups, it is quite probable that the stirr-ups (*rakab*) at Sanchi was of Central Asian origin and possibly associated with the Sakas or the Romans¹⁶. If the identification is wrong, the contention that the stirr-ups were unknown to the ancient Indian holds good.

The horse¹⁷ (*kanthaka*) appears twice in the Sanchi relief. That the panel¹⁸ depicting "the *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* reveals the riderless horse *kanthaka*. The trappings associated with the horse is same as described above. However, the saddle-cloth of *kanthaka* has apparently no girth. Again, similar riderless horse (*kanthaka*) gets portrayal in the scene depicting the *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* elsewhere¹⁹ (Pl. 5b). The horse has rich trapping skin to the above described one.

That the horses were used for drawing chariots can be known from the scenes representing "Parinirvāṇa"²⁰, "the war of relics"²¹, "the king Ashoka visiting to Bodhi tree",²² the empty chariot²³, the *Vesantara jātakā*²⁴ etc. (Pls. 32b, 4c, 9b, 46a, 36). The horses, drawing the carriages and carts are also met with in the sculptures of Amarāvati²⁵, Caves of Bhaja²⁶, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa²⁷, Gandhāra²⁸, and Ajanta²⁹.

Elephant.—In the reliefs elephants appear in royal processions and as used by soldiers in wars. It was one of the symbols of sovereignty³⁰ and was therefore mostly favoured by the kings in ancient times. It was richly decorated with elaborate trappings. Thus, the elephants carved on the capital of the Eastern gateway³¹ (Pl. 41) reveal trappings and elaborate decoration. The elephants' mast is shown sitting in the best place, astride on the neck, with *aṅkuśa* in his hand. Generally, *aṅkuśa* (hook) and *totira* (prod) are used to urge and direct the elephant. We know that the art of riding an elephant formed part of the education of the sons of good families. Behind him, most insecurely balanced, on the beasts, sloping back, the standard-bearer is clinging as best as he can.

The housing of the elephant consists of a thick padding covered with cloth secured by strong ropes. The forehead of the elephant is lavishly decorated. An ornamental band decorated with resette-shaped basses and adorned with crescentic pendants can be seen on the forehead. In ancient Greece, such crescentic pendants were used for decorating horses.³² Similar pendants are also found around the neck of an elephant at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,³³ Mathura³⁴ and around the necks of horses depicted in the later group of Ajanta paintings³⁵. The whole ornament together with pendants has been referred to as *nakṣtramāla* by Bāṇa³⁶. Again, from the ornamental band covering the ears of the elephant bead-strings dangle. This may represent *karnacūlis* as identified by Sivarāmamurti³⁷.

Precisely similar decoration can be seen on the elephant carved on the capital of the Northern gateway³⁸. Here, the forehead is decorated with a pearl string from which are suspended crescentic pendants alternating with what looks like sheathed sword, etc. (Pl. 17b). The *karnacūlis* are prominently seen. A bell is seen hung to the housing of the elephant. In this case a female is shown urging the animal.

In one instance, two elephants lying down on the usual way and back to back are carved on the Western gateway³⁹. The trappings of the elephants are elaborate and clearly sculptured. The housing of the elephants, like that for the saddle of the horses, consist of a thick

padding covered with a piece of carpeting or embroidered cloth secured by strong ropes. A bell clapper is made to sling from the housing of the elephant. As the elephants moved gaitly the bells rang. As the king is astride on the neck of the animal with an *aṅkuśa* intended for urging the animal, his *chāmaradhāra* sits at his back. A rope around his loins which is clearly visible allows him, inspite of the realistic slope of the animals spine, to keep both hands free to hold the handle of the umbrella.

In another instance,⁴⁰ a state elephant is shown carrying a chief on its back. The chief is shown seated on a *howdāh* (Pl. 34), while the mahut (*hastipaka*) is urging the animal. The *howdāh* is a simple seat with high back. Owing to its rough representation the details of its decoration cannot be made out. In early Indian art the Gandhāra sculptures⁴¹ depict *howdāh* on the elephants back. However, *howdāh* occurs sparsely in early Indian art and literary references to them are also rare. A definite reference to *hawdāh* is to be found in the *Agni Purāṇa* which states that "it should be made of wood of tree that emit milky sap when wounded; it should be fifty fingers broad and three cubits long and painted and decorated with gold."⁴²

That the animal carried at times even three persons can be known from the scene depicted on the Southern gateway⁴³ (Pl. 40). A royal personage astride on a neck of an elephant, the hook of the *aṅkuśa* resting on the animal's forehead is shown riding through a lotus pond. Behind him his queen brandishes the fly-whisk with her right hand and seems to be holding out her left to another woman to help her to climb up the back of the animal, which is busy tearing up the lotuses with his trunk.

That the elephant formed an important arm of the royal army⁴⁴ is known from the realistic depiction of the battle scene carved on the Southern gateway⁴⁵ (Pl. 4c).

An idea of the elephant stable of the period under review can be had from one of the reliefs of Stūpa-2⁴⁶. An elephant with its rider (*hastipaka*) is shown coming out of tiled building, evidently an elephant stable. The tiles (*giṇjikas*) of the roof are clearly sculptured.

Camel :—The camels used for riding appears in the reliefs more than once.⁴⁷ Two camels sitting back to back occur on the Eastern gateway⁴⁸ (*Pl. 37b*). These kneeling camels are ridden by a man and woman. The camels are long haired and with a double hump. The rope is fastened, just as it is now-a-days, to a wooden peg fixed in the upper part of the nostrils. The two personages seem to be holding, besides the rein, a switch made of twisted stuff.

The camels that appear in the reliefs are Bactrian camels⁴⁹. They are mounted as if on horse back, as is likewise in Palmyra⁵⁰. They belong to two-humped species. Similar two-humped camels are available at present in Sahārā desert. In India only single humped camel can be seen in Great Indian desert. Evidently therefore, the camels, depicted in the reliefs are of foreign origin and came to India along with Bactrians or Persians⁵¹. Parallel examples of the Sanchi specimens we get in the Gandhāra sculptures⁵².

Bull :—Bull also appears in the reliefs as being used for riding.⁵³ Two bulls couchant with one knee lifted occur on the back of the Southern gateway⁵⁴ (South end). Two nobles are shown riding on them. They are holding tray with garland in their left hand. The head stall of the bulls passing through their nostrils, crossing over their muzzles, then folded back round each horn and fixed by a turn or two round the forehead is clearly noticeable. The rope round their shoulders holds the end of the tail for preventing the tail from flicking dust into the faces of the animal riders. The necks of the bulls are decorated with heavy *hāra* of beaded strings as seen still worn by cattle in India. The necklace is fastened by means of a big stud passing through a loop. Precisely, similar example of bulls with riders again occur on the Eastern gateway⁵⁵ (*Pl. 42a*). The necklace adorning the bulls are in this case *Phalakahāras* but fastened in the same way as described above.

Goat :—Goats appear twice in the reliefs as being used for riding.⁵⁶ The goats with their riders occur on the back of the Eastern gateway⁵⁷ (South end) (*Pl. 38*). Two goats are shown couchant with one knee lifted. A male and female are seen riding over them. Precisely,

similar example of two goats sitting back to back with their riders occur again on the back of the Northern gateway.⁵⁸ The riders here are shown holding twisted stuff probably cudgel in their hands.

Stag :— Sometimes stags were used for riding as can be known from the sculptural depictions at Sanchi. Thus, two stags sitting back to back with their riders occur on the front of the Southern gateway⁵⁹ (South end) (Pl. 40). The stags are bridled and ridden by king and his *uparāja*. Again, on the west end of the same gateway⁶⁰ stag riders are depicted in the similar way as seen above. But in this case a king and a queen are seen riding over the stags.

(ii) Wheeled Vehicles

Bullock-cart :— The bullock-cart is perhaps the oldest and commonest wheeled vehicle in India.⁶¹ An excellent example of a cart is depicted on one of the pillars of the Southern gateway⁶² (Pl. 44c). It consists of a box-like frame mounted on wheels having lotus petal shaped spokes. It is covered with a vaulted roof of bamboo work, for protecting the occupants from Sun and rain. The covering is spread on the poles which are raised on the sides of the cart with an opening in the front and the back. The components of the cart, the wheel (*cakra*), the spoke (*ara*), the rim (*nemi*), axle (*akṣa*), axle-pin (*aṇi*) etc., are clearly visible. Similar roofed carts can be seen even to this day. It appears that the roofed carts were intended for joy riders and the *Mṛchchhakatika* refers to such roofed (*apavārīta*) carts. The sculptures at Barhut, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Goli⁶³ etc., show us how the appearance of the cart was in those days. One can see the continuation of the basic form of the bullock-cart through all the phases of early Indian art. It is noteworthy that the modern carts have not undergone much change. The type of cart depicted in the Sanchi reliefs is still in vogue in Madhya Pradesh.

Chariots :— Chariots represented in the reliefs are of two varieties, namely those drawn by two horses and others with four horses. The former are comparatively smaller than latter while the shape, however, being the same. A clear depiction of the chariot drawn by two horses occurs on the western pillar of Southern gateway⁶⁴ (Pl. 9b).

A king is shown with the charioteer. The body of the chariot is mounted on a set of two wheels with lotus petal shaped spokes. Above the wheels on either side rises a curved projection while a similar but longer one is seen on the front and all the three projections serve as guard.

The pole of the car (*ratha-iṣa*)⁶⁵ is fastened to the body of the car and to the double yoke (*yuga*) that crosses it and rests in turn on the necks of the studs. The fastening of the yoke (*chakrabandharatha-bandha*) and the pole appear to be of leather⁶⁶. The best examples of the chariot drawn by four horses, however, occurs in the scene illustrating the Vesantara jātaka⁶⁷. A prince is shown holding the reins with his left hand while the right hand holds a long stick. The body, wheels, shaft and yoke of the quadriga is clearly visible (*Pl. 36*). The description of the chariot is exactly the same as the one described about. The present example only differs from it in size, being bigger. Further the upper margins of the guard are decorated with beaded design.

The Sanchi chariot as is evident from the sculptural depictions accommodates two and invariably they are the king and the charioteer. Such chariots are not common in early Indian art. However, the chariots seen at Sanchi have semblances to those found at Bodhgaya⁶⁸. Gandhāra⁶⁹ and the chariot depicted in Rameses III at Thebes⁷⁰.

II. WATER TRANSPORT

Boats

A boat appears in the scene depicting the Miracle of the Buddha. It has a high pointed prow, but the stern is not prominent. The exterior marks on the body probably represent iron clamps intended for holding the planks together. Thus, the boat is a rude canoe made of rough planks sewn together⁷¹ (*Pl. 15a*). The broad boat paddler (such as one which can still be seen in use in Kashmir) are clearly visible.

Another interesting boat occurs on one of the pillars of the Western gateway⁷². It is an elaborate vessel (*Pl. 23b*) adorned with a prancing *vyāla-mukha* (griffin) on the prow, while the stern is in the

shape of a fish's tail. An oar is seen hung in a socket near the stern. It contains a pavilion raised on four pillars in the middle of the boat. Mookerji⁷³ identifies it as the *Madhyamandirā* type of boat mentioned in the *Yukti-kalpataru*. Similar boats are to be found in the later group of Ajanta paintings and in the Jagannātha temple at Puri⁷⁴. It is interesting to note that one of the seals at Mohanjo-daro reveals a boat with humble hut in the middle probably meant to afford shelter for the occupants from Sun and rain. If this identification is correct this example would be the earliest known boat⁷⁵.

REFERENCES

1. Motichandra, *Geographical Economic studies in the Mahābhārata Upayana Parva*, p. 35 (Lucknow, 1945).
2. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.3.
3. *Ibid.*, 56 and 58. These thickest sturdy-animals call to mind some modern Flemish breed or the magnificent caparisoned creature with the rider beside him at Konark (pp. 137-138).
4. Singer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 555.
5. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 22, 24, 31, 33, 56, 58 etc.
6. *Ibid.*, 56.6.
7. The horse cloth or saddle originally appeared to be an animal-skin and was used by the Scythians somewhere in 6th to 3rd century B.C. However, the saddle can be seen only on the chertomlyx vase of the 4th century B.C. Bare back-riding was common in Greek. As early as in 9th century B.C. Assyrians used horse-cloth. It had become a usual part of Greek soldiers, equipment by the 4th century B.C. It was in general, used in Rome from 1st century B.C. There is no evidence that Romans used padded saddles until the 4th century A.D. (Singer, *op. cit.*, p. 556).
8. The earlier, snaffled-bit had two links. The unique of three-link bit was used by Greeks and became common among celts. Check-pieces, nose bands and check straps were introduced in Assyria (Singer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, fig. 523), whence the Greeks took them. Cf. also Gandhāra specimen, see also Xenophon on the Art of Horsemanship, S. 8, 11 (Loeb, *Scripts, Minora*, pp. 348 ff. 1925).
9. The horse-bits are seen distinctly in the Sanchi reliefs. Cf. also horses depicted in Mathura and Gandhāra sculptures (B.N. Puri, India under the Kushanas, illustrations depicting the Vesantara jātaka scene. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, figs. 45, 49, 51.

10. *Indica*, Chap. XIV.
11. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent worship*, p. 134.
12. Mitra, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 335-336; See also McCrindle's Translation, Fragment, XXXV, p. 89.
13. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 31 and 33.
14. *Ibid.*, 58.
15. *Ibid.*, 82, 40b.
16. Gode, P.K., "The History of the Stirr-up in India and Foreign Horsemanship" *Bhāratīya Itihāsa Samsodhaka Maṇḍala*, Traimāsika, XXIX, no. 1-2 (113-114), 1948, pp. 1-14.
17. The riderless horse indicates the Great Departure.
18. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 16.1.
19. *Ibid.*, 40.2.
20. *Ibid.*, 11.2.
21. *Ibid.*, 15.3.
22. *Ibid.*, 18.a2.
23. *Ibid.*, 35.a1.
24. *Ibid.*, 23.1.
25. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. X. 13.
26. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 41.
27. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 677.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
29. Motichandra, *Prācīna Bhārat kī patha paddhati* (Patna, 1953), fig. 29.30.
30. McGraig, *Elephant in Indian art "Times of India, Annual"* and Hutton, J.H., "The Elephant in Stali ceremonies, *Journal of Indian art*, Vol. 16, London, 1916.
31. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 44.3.
32. F.H. Marshall, *Catalogue of jewellery in the British Museum, Greek, Etruscan and Roman*, pl. XLVI, (London, 1911).
33. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. XIV, 3.
34. Cf. Mathura; *Marg*, IX, No. 2, p. 46; pl. 5.
35. Yazdani, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, pl. L,C.
36. V.S. Agrawala, *Kādambarī*, pp. 97-98 (Varanasi, 1958).
37. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
38. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 25.
39. *Ibid.*, 57.2.
40. *Ibid.*, 43.
41. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. XXII, 4.
42. Mitra, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 39.
43. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 12.2.
44. Megasthenes, as quoted by Strabo, says that each Indian elephant carried three archers besides, the driver; Essay, 11, 295; see also *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 151-15.

45. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15.3.
46. *Ibid.*, 90.8, 6a.
47. *Ibid.*, 47 and 48.
48. *Ibid.*, 47.
49. For the double humped Bactrian variety, vide N.P. Joshi, *Life in Ancient uttarāpatha, (Material civilization of North India from 200 B.C. to A.D. 300 as revealed by the sculptures, Terracottas and coins)* Lucknow, 1967, p. 109, fig. 284.
50. Ingholt, *Berytus*, III, 1936, p. 119, pl. XXIV, 2.
51. The Persians also used the dromedary and the camel for riding and packs (Forbes, R.J. "The coming of the camel" in *Studies in Ancient Technology*). In late Neolithic times, the camel was domesticated in Central Asia and the Dromedary in Arabia. The Egyptians knew the Dromedary from the predynastic period. The camel transport grew in Persian times from 6th century B.C. onwards. The Palmyra and Petre were the two great desert Emporia at that time. The Palmyra flourished in Persian times but declined in the Hellenistic times. By 1st century A.D., the Romans and the Parthians fully recognised the importance of desert trade and camel transport (Singer and others, *A History of Technology*, Vol. II. p. 497).
52. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 101; Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, pp. 145, 150.
53. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 16, 17, 25, 27, 41, 43.
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58. *Ibid.*, 32.
59. *Ibid.* 12b.
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62. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 19c.
63. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, (Gandhāra sculptures), p. 102.
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65. Hopkings, *JAOS*, Vol. III, pp. 235 ff.
66. *JAOS*, Vol. XIII, pp. 235 ff.
67. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 23.
68. Coomaraswamy, A., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art.*, pl. XVII, fig. 61 (London, 1927).
69. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103.
70. Oakshot, R.E., *The Archaeology of Weapons*, pp. 63-65, fig. 31.
71. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 51.b.

Conveyances

173

72. *Ibid.*, 65. a3.
73. R.K. Mookerji, *History of Indian shipping*, p. 29.
74. Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
75. Mackay takes it to be a shrine, *Further excavations at Mohenjodaro*, pp. 30-1, pl. XIX, No. 14.

CHAPTER TEN

Weapons

In struggle for dominance between man and his fellowman, the result has been determined by a superiority in the weapons of the victors. It is largely in consequence of his monopoly for earth. "At some stage" says Harrison¹, "in his evolution from ape-like ancestors, man must have been slowly progressing from a condition in which his natural powers enabled him to maintain his place in nature to one in which, by the adoption and invention of artificial weapons and other implements, he began his progress along the high road to supremacy."

Thus, the classifications of weapons is to be based mainly on their structure which is intimately related to its function.²

The weapons depicted in the Sanchi reliefs are varied. But unfortunately, many of the instances suffer representations. The rough representations sometimes render the identification of the shape of the weapon difficult. Thus, in some cases of swords, and sticks, it becomes very difficult to differentiate them from one another with some amount of certainty.

However, an attempt is made here to classify the weapons as represented in the reliefs. The scheme followed is very much similar to that set down by Harrison.

The chief purposes for which weapons are shaped are for offence and defence. But as Harrison³ points out, in most of the cases these two functions cannot be performed by the same weapon. Then the

main sub-divisions are based upon the function of the weapon, (i.e.) the purpose for which it was intended to be used or the kind of wound it might produce.

The primary functions of the weapons of offence are three, namely (i) Crushing or Stunning (ii) Piercing and (iii) Cutting.

The Sanchi reliefs represent missile stones, sticks, clubs, maces, spears, daggers, pikes, battle-axes, bows and shields, all of which, save the last are weapons of offence.

A. WEAPONS OF OFFENCE

I. CRUSHING OR STUNNING WEAPONS

The crushing weapons depicted in the reliefs include stones, sticks, clubs, maces etc.

(i) *Missile-stones thrown by hand*

A heavy stone says Harrison⁴, "sieved on emergency may well have been amongst the earliest weapons adopted by man". An example of a big stone used as a weapon to be thrown at the enemy occurs from the panel⁵ illustrating the scene of the war of relics. The battle for the besize of the town of Kusinara by the seven claimants is realistically depicted in the panel. In that a person is seen throwing a huge stone from the rampart on to the assailants. He has held both of his hands high to throw the stone, with force (Pl. 4c). Such stones, big or small, probably, served more as missiles than hand-weapons.

In Śānskrit literature, references to missile stones (*astras*) are available. The missiles hurled by hand are known as *pānimukta*, while those delivered by machines are called *yantramukta*. It is said in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that the *vānaras* employed in the battle of Laṅka, threw stones at the *Rākṣhasas*⁶ who were also skilled in the use of missiles. In the *Mahābhārata*⁷, missiles are referred to and actually a group of soldiers was provided with such missile stones.

(ii) Stick (daṇḍa)

Sticks are merely bruising weapons, the heavy blow of which injures the skin. Heavy sticks sometimes break the bones. In this capacity the stick might have been the proto-type of a club. "A stick or rude club", says Harrison⁸ "consisting of a trimmed sapling or branch is a weapon which may well have had its origin in the employment of broken off boughs or loose sticks, snatched upon emergency".

In the panel^a depicting "Vessantara jātaka", the wicked brāhmin is shown with a stick (Pl.24c). He is in the acts of beating the two children. The stick which he is holding is not straight but has a bend indicating thereby that it is a slender branch or sappling. It may as well be broken-off bough snatched in emergency, as construed by Harrison, for using it as weapons. Such sticks used for striking the enemy may be appropriately called "rude club".

Again, the scene¹⁰ depicting "the Vessantara jātaka" illustrates the prince as driving the four horses-drawn chariot. The prince is shown holding the reins with his left hand while his right hand is holding a long straight stick¹¹ evidently used for beating the horses (Pl.36).

(iii) Club (Gadā)

The clubs represented in the reliefs present two types, namely (a) cylindrical and (b) the tapering. As the representations are rough, it is not possible to know whether they contain any decorations except to visualise their shape. As for the material with which clubs were made, it is not possible to know from the reliefs. In majority of cases, the details of the grip portion between the shaft and the stop or the knob is hidden by the fist of the holder, and therefore this part of the club shown in the illustrations, is only conjectural. Invariably, the clubs are represented with knobs at the end of grip the purpose of which is to prevent it from slipping out of the hand.

(a) *Cylindrical type*:—The club of this variety is met with in the scene representing "The war of the Relics". A soldier appears with a cylindrical long club (Pl. 4c). The cylindrical club is shown resting

on his shoulder. The soldier is riding on the horse. The head of the club is the continuation of the shaft. Precisely, similar club can be noticed in the same panel in the hands of another soldier. However, in both the cases, the shaft and the stop portion of the club are not visible as they are hidden in the hands of the soldiers.

(b) *Tapering type*:—This type of club presents a slightly different picture. The grip in this case is nearly absent but knob at the end is however provided as seen in the case of the above type. As for the shaft it tapers towards the lower end with a knob as the terminal. The head is massive and has a pointed apex. Thus, the maximum and the minimum thickness is to be seen at the beginning of the head and the lower end respectively. The pointed apex of the head, however, also suggests that it was probably, used also for piercing.

The reliefs depict (1) Plain and (2) decorated tapering clubs.

(1) *Plain tapering club*:—An example of this variety is carved on one of the pillars of the Southen gateway¹². A foot soldier is seen with a long tapering club (*Pl. 9b*). He is resting it on his shoulder.

(2) *Decorated tapering club*:—Three decorated tapering clubs occur on the back of the Western gateway¹³. Of these three, one is a short club while the remaining two are long ones. All these three decorated tapering clubs are shown held by foot-soldiers. The grips of the club are slender with knob at the end. The clubs are decorated with multi-bands (*Pl. 48b*). The shafts widen at the striking ends.

(iv) *Mace*

The mace is depicted more than once in the reliefs. The mace seen in the reliefs consists of long shaft and ovoidal head. Thus, the scene¹⁴ depicting “Ashoka’s visit to the Bodhi tree”, reveals a foot soldier with a mace (*Pl. 5c*). It is held in both the hands probably because of its heaviness. The mace shows two distinct parts, namely the head and the shaft. The head is bulbous and ovoidal. The shaft is long and slender. This bulbous and ovoidal shaped head of the mace differentiates it from the club which has less bulged head.¹⁵

Again, precisely similar mace occurs in the scene¹⁶ depicting the "War of Relics". A soldier is shown standing in a balcony of the rampart with a mace (*Pl. 4c*). The bulbous head and the slender and long shaft of the mace is clearly visible.

Yet in another instance¹⁷ slightly different mace occurs (*Pl. 48b*). It differs from the above examples in its short shaft. The mace is shown held by a demon of the Māra's army in his left hand. The head of the mace is bulbous and contains multi-band decoration on the exterior. Presumably, because of its small size, the mace could have as well been used even as a missile. The way in which the demon is holding the mace supports this conjecture.

The excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have yielded many stone and copper maces which have semblance to those found at Elam, Mesopotamia and Egypt.¹⁸

In literature Kauṭilya refers to three kinds of maces: *Musala*, *Yaṣṭi*, and *Gadā*. According to him, the mace could be hurled at the enemy though usually it was taken to be a weapon on non-missile class¹⁹. Arrian records that the mace was the chief weapon of the Śibi tribe²⁰. In the jātakas, the term *mugara* is used for the mace.²¹ *Milindapāṇha* mentions a light weapon called *lakuṭa*, same as Sāṅskrit *laguḍa*.²² Kālidāsa knew such types as *parigha*, *mudgara*, *bhīṇḍipāla* and *gadā*. The mace has been represented on the Chakravikrama type of coin of Chandra Gupta-II²³.

In art the sculptures of Amarāvati,²⁴ Nāgārjunakoṇḍa²⁵ reveal *gadās* which resemble the Sanchi specimens.

II. PIERCING WEAPONS

The piercing weapons, that the reliefs have depicted include (i) spear (ii) pike (iii) trident (iv) dart and (v) bow and arrow.

(i) Spear (*Prāsa*)

The spears illustrated in the reliefs are all composite and comprise, a head and handle or shaft, *yaṣṭi*. For varieties of spears,

namely, (a) Concave (b) Convex (c) Triangular shaped and (d) scalloped are met with of which the first one is frequently depicted.

(a) *Concave headed spear*:—This variety of spear is found in the hands of a *yakṣa* carved on one of the pillars of Western gateway²⁶. He is shown holding his spear (*Pl. 27*) in his left hand. The head of the spear consists of a pointed blade with sharp edge. The outline is concave near the point and becomes bulged near the base. The presence of a mid-rib is to be seen clearly on the blade of spear. The head is fixed to the shaft in socket and therefore the socket covers the tang of the shaft.

Again, similar type of concave headed spears occurs in the scene²⁷ representing Prasenajit's visit. Two foot-soldiers (*Pl. 11a*) are shown with concave shaped spears in the midst of royal procession. In this case also the head of the spear consists of a pointed blade with sharp edge. The other description of the spears tally with the one described above. However, the persons holding the spear appear to be foreigners, probably Greeks, wearing foreign Greek cap.

Sometimes, such type of spears were carried by the hunters can be known from the scene²⁸ representing the rural life as the part of the Vesantara jātaka. A hunter is shown holding a concave headed spear on his left shoulder (*Pl. 17a*).

(b) *Convex headed spear*:—This type of spear gets its portrayal in the scene depicting "War of relics"²⁹. The battle scene is realistically depicted. Near the wall of the city gate, outside, a foot-soldier is depicted with a spear and a shield. This spear (*Pl. 4c*) as seen in the case of concave shaped spear, also has a sharp edge and a point at the apex. It has a convex outline and a base. The blade seems to have a tank at the base which is inserted into the shaft. The shaft in this case is uniform.

Exactly, similarly convex headed spear occurs in the scene illustrating "the Transport of the Relics." It is seen in the hands of a foot soldier. But in this case, the spear is partly visible as much of the portion of the shaft is covered by the shield which he holds.

(c) *Triangular shaped spear*:—This variety of leaf-shaped spear occurs twice in the scene representing the Māra's army. A foot soldier and a demon of the Māra's army are shown holding this type of spear (Pl. 48c). As seen above in this case also the spear has a sharp edge and a point at the apex. This spear differs from the above ones in outlines. In this case the outline is triangular shape. The blade has a tang at the base which is inserted into the shaft. The shaft is long, thin and uniform. The mid-rib of the blade is also clearly visible.

(d) *Scalloped shaped spear*:—There is a solitary representation of this type in the relief³⁰. The head of this spear consists of a pointed blade, with sharp edges and a broader fluted base. The blade of the spear has bulbous portion at the apex side. While describing an scalloped Egyptian spear head, Petrie³¹ remarks, "this could not add to its attacking powers, it seems to have been a swaggering imitation of damages received in hand-fight".

The shaft of the spear is a long rough pole without a grip for the hand. It is very similar to an early Ajanta³² specimen. It is possibly the *kunta* type of weapon which according to Kauṭilya³³, has edged like a plough share.

In all probability, the spear might have taken its origin in a pointed digging stick. Speaking about the spears, Harrison³⁴ remarks, "in any case, the spear is a weapon of great antiquity, since they have been found amongst some of the early remains of man's life and industries, undoubted spear-heads of bone, and in one case the point of a wooden spear of still greater age". However, a variety of spears appears chiefly among the savage races³⁵.

At Mohenjo-daro and Harappa many spear heads with a thin, broad blade and a tang were discovered.³⁶ In literature, Pāṇini uses the term *Śakti* for spears.³⁷ Kauṭilya³⁸ enumerates such varieties as *śakti*, *tomara*, *prāśa* and *bhiṇḍipāla*.

(ii) *Pike (śūla)*

The pikes occur in the reliefs frequently.³⁹ A clear example of a pike (*śūla*) gets its portrayal on the front of the Southern gateway

(west end)⁴⁰ (Pl. 40). A royal personage is shown riding on an elephant astride on its neck. He is keeping the hook of the *śūla* on the animal's forehead. The pike has a double forked head with a ferrule at its lower end. To this a shaft (*yashṭi*) is added. The purpose of this *śūla* in this case is evidently to urge the elephant. Hence, it can be called *totra* or *aṅkuśa* (goad) which is generally used to urge the animal by the *hastipaka*. One such *aṅkuśa* is held by a royal personage.

A similar *aṅkuśa* is again met with in the hands of a king portrayed on the front of the Western gateway (west end)⁴¹. However, still clearer example of *aṅkuśas* we get in the scene depicting Māra's army (Pl. 48c). Two persons riding on elephants are shown urging the animal with *aṅkuśa*.

Sometimes, the instrument for urging the elephant was different. It was a prod, an instrument made of wood and used to stimulate action in the animal. Thus, a prod used as an instrument for urging the elephant is depicted on the bank of the gateway⁴². It is a thick round wooden staff terminating at one end with a stud. In this case the *hastipaka* is shown languidly resting on the neck of the animal taking support of the prod (*totra*). Exactly, similar kind of prod occurs again on the front of the Eastern gateway⁴³ (Pl. 41). The prod is made to rest on the forehead of the animal by the *hastipaka*, who is a king in this case.

The single bladed *śūla* was differentiated by name from the triple forked *triśūla*, trident. Kautilya in his *Arthaśāstra* (11, 18) mentions both the types, classifying the pike among weapons with plough share like edges, *halamukha*, which were put under moveable machines.

(iii) Trident (*Triśūla*)

Trident (*triśūla*), gets its portrayal in the scene depicting Māra's army⁴⁴. A demon of the Māra's army is shown holding a trident in his left hand. The trident has a three forked head attached to a long shaft (*yashṭi*) (Pl. 35c).

(iv) *Dart*

A very curious weapon is shown wielded by a demon of Māra⁴⁵. It has a grip in the middle and on either sides are pointed ends (Pl. 35c). The weapon may be a dart (*karpaṇa*). Again, in another instance⁴⁶ a male person is shown holding exactly a similar weapon, dart. In character and design it is not far removed from the *vajra* of Indra, the later, however, is three-pronged⁴⁷.

(v) *Bow and arrow (cāpa and śara)*

The Sanchi reliefs depict the bow and arrow frequently. Arrows are of the nature of small light spears. Bows on the other hand are very distinctive appliances. In origin, they are not related to the spear throwing. Therefore, the arrows (missiles) and the bow (the discharging appliance) are treated separately.

(a) *Arrow(śara)* :--An arrow is represented in the scene⁴⁸ depicting Śyāma jātika. As per the story of Śyāma jātika, the king shoots his arrow at the anchorite Śyāma as he is taking bath in a lotus pond. An arrow (Pl. 23a) issued by the king from the bow is seen stuck in the body of Śyāma. In agony the anchorite Śyāma is holding the arrow with both of his hands probably, with an endeavour to pluck it out. The shaft and the terminal of the arrow can be seen clearly.

Again, arrows get their depiction in the panel⁴⁹ depicting “the War of relics” (Pl. 4c). In this, a battle scene is portrayed. The seven claimants are shown in the act of besieging the town Kusināgara. The four kinds of troops, on foot, on horse back, on elephants and in the chariots are shown in action of fighting. Bow men are seen drawing their bows against their opponents. The arrows mounted on bows, are ready for the issue. The long shafts and the shaft terminals of the arrows are clearly visible. In the scene⁵⁰ depicting “the Vessantara jātika”, a hunter is shown issuing an arrow from a self bow (Pl. 24c). The hunter is in the act of releasing the arrow mounted on the bow. The arrow is being released by the hunter by pulling the *jayābandha* (the bow string). In this, the shaft, fore-shaft and shaft terminal of the

arrow can be made. Another variety of arrow with sharp crescentic head occurs in the relief⁵¹. It is possibly the *ardha-chandra* type of arrow referred to in the *Dhanurveda*⁵².

(1) Shaft

The shaft which constitutes the greater part of the length of the arrow was probably made of reed, cane or of light wood.

(2) Shaft terminal

The arrow has a butt attached to the end of the shaft by lashing and gum. The butt was probably a separate piece of wood with a flower design. Interestingly, arrows with decorations on the shafts and its fore-part are still being used in Malasia⁵³.

(3) Fore shaft

Generally, it is made of heavier wood, bone or metal. It usually accommodates for some distance into the cavity of the shaft when it is made of reed. It is further secured by means of a lashing strengthened with a coating of gum. Feathering may be absent in those arrows in which trueness of flight is ensured by a heavy shaft. The absence of such feathering in the arrow depicted in the reliefs may denote a heavy fore-shaft to it.

The epics⁵⁴ refer to two kinds of arrows, namely *Vāṇava* (made of reeds) and *āyasa* or *nārāca* (made of iron). Various kinds of feathers used for the arrow ends included those of hawks, flemingos, and herons. These feathers were intended to stabilize the arrow's flight⁵⁵. Kālidāsa refers to arrows that had iron-points as feather ends, which made the arrow go forth swiftly.⁵⁶

Of the size and make of the arrows we get full description in the *Agni Purāṇa*. According to it, "Arrows should be made of bamboos, which must be free from spots. They should be straight, golden coloured and have feathers of birds attached to their lower extremities".⁵⁷ But the most approved measurement was three cubits or four feet.

The classical writers have also noted the length of the arrow. Thus, according to Strabo⁵⁸, it was three cubits long while Rufus⁵⁹ records two cubit long arrows for hunting purposes.

(b) *Bow* :—Of the offensive arms of the ancient past, the bow was the weapon par excellence. The bows represented in Sanchi reliefs are of three types, namely (1) the plain or “Self” bow (2) composite or double curved bow and (3) compound or triple curved bow.

(1) *The plain or “self” bow*

Speaking about “the self bow” in general, Harrison⁶⁰ observes that “the self bow” made from one piece of elastic wood and strung with a strip of rattan or cane, with raw-hide or with cord made from animal sinews or vegetable fibres may be regarded as the typical weapon of this class”.

The scene⁶¹ depicting the return of the “perfectly accomplished Buddha” on one of the pillars of the Eastern gateway illustrates two men carrying self-bow on their shoulders (*Pl. 6a*). Although the bows are partially visible, their staves and strings can be made out. The long curved single stave of wood of the bow is generally wrapped with sinews at regular intervals. The bow string (*jyā* or *gunā*) is permanently fixed at both ends. The stave is saturated with oil and bent to the required shape over the fire. The string is finally fixed. The self bows in the present case probably represent *kamathā* variety of bows.

An excellent example of the self-bow occurs in the scene representing “The war of Relics” (*Pl. 4c*). The archer who is on the battlemented rampart is shown holding the self-bow in the *adho-sāṇdhāna* way as he has to shoot his arrow on assailants who are on the ground.

Again, similar self-bow of *kamathā* variety occurs on the front of the Eastern gateway⁶². Jungle dwellers (male and female) are shown with a bow and quiver containing arrows. The female is shown holding the stave of the bow with her left hand while the male is holding

the quiver in his left hand. The bow is evidently single-stave wooden bow to which string is fixed (*Pl. 34b*).

Precisely similar self-bow of *kamathā* variety is seen in the panel representing Vesantara jātaka⁶³. The hunter is shown holding the bow in *Sama-saṇdhāna* way and evidently he must be standing in *viśākha* pose (*Pl. 24c*). Parallel example of this bow can be seen on some of the Indo-bactrian coins and, punch marked coins of 5th-6th century B.C.⁶⁴

In yet another place⁶⁵, again a hunter is shown carrying a self-bow of *kamathā* variety (*Pl. 17a*). As it can be seen from its frequent sculptural depictions this bow seems to be more serviceable for hunting.

Such lengthly self-bows are available as early as in the rock shelter paintings and on the walls of the pre-historic caves⁶⁶. As pointed above, the coins of Indo-bactrian and punch marked coins reveal self-bows.

In literature, self bows are known from the epic times. In the *Mahābhāratha*⁶⁷ a bow of *tala-mātra* or palm long or presumably six cubits in length, is referred. According to Egerton,⁶⁸ five feet is the ordinary length of the Hindu bow.

Moreover, it is interesting to note in this connection that the tribal people like the Chenchus of Āndhra Pradesh,⁶⁹ Malers and Mumars of Madhya Pradesh and the Bhils of Rājasthan⁷⁰ use self-bows and the self-bows of the Sanchi reliefs closely resemble the ones used by these tribal people.

(2) *The composite or double curved bow*

The stave of this bow has an inward bulge in the middle which constitutes the grip. The shape of the bow resembles segments of two circles. The string (*iyā*) was probably, fastened to the ends by a hole made in the bow at the extremities. This type of stave could not have been of one piece of wood or bamboo but is built of two pieces, usually of wood or of horn. Evidently, the composite bow could have been an improvement over the plain or self-bow⁷¹.

In the Sanchi reliefs the composite bow occurs more than once⁷². Thus, the scene⁷³ depicting “the war of relics”, reveals two archers with composite bows (*Pl. 4c*). They are shown in the act of shooting the arrow from the composite bows in the *Ūrdhava saṇdhāna* way. The string is drawn upto the tip of the ear (*karnayoni*). The archers are standing in the *pratyāliḍha* pose. The stave of the bow consists of two curved pieces joined together by a central piece. In two other scenes⁷⁴ depicting “Māra’s army” the composite bow gets its portrayal. A foot-soldier is seen carrying the composite bow on his shoulder (*Pls. 35b, 48c*). In yet another panel⁷⁵ illustrating “Śyāma jātaka”, the king is shown with a composite bow. He appears in the scene with the composite bow twice (*Pl. 23a*). In one instance, he is shown in the act of shooting the arrow. He is holding the bow in *adho-saṇdhāna* way the string upto his chin while standing in *samapāda* posture. In another instance, he appears with the composite bow holding it in his left hand. In this case, his contenance shows his repentance for his involuntary homicide. In both the cases, the composite bow is clearly sculptured. Its stave and string are clearly visible.

This type of composite bow is of rare occurrence in early Indian art. However, the Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings (3rd-2nd century B.C.) as per the depiction on their coins, used composite bows made of bamboo and metal.⁷⁶ It becomes common later and is depicted on a number of Gupta coins.⁷⁷ It occurs on the “Lion slayer” and “the tiger slayer coins of Samudragupta”⁷⁸. Even its illustrations in Indian art show that it became common during and after the Gupta period. However, the composite bow is said to have been the invention of the Scythians who probably introduced it in India before the beginning of the Christian era⁷⁹. Hence, its presence at Sanchi.

In literature, the *Agni Purāṇa*⁸⁰ refers to the composite bow. According to it, the composite bow might be made of wood and bone conjointly. Its middle part should be joined with spare piece of wood. But the *Sisupālavadha*⁸¹ mentions of a piece of metal fixed in the middle of the stave.

(3) *The compound or tripple curved bow*

This type of compound bow is twice represented in the reliefs. The stave of this bow could have been built of three pieces of wood or horn. It is difficult to distinguish a compound bow from a composite one from the sculptures⁸². However, a clear example of a compound bow occurs in the scene⁸³ representing 'Māra's army'. A foot-soldier appears with a compound bow. He is shown holding it on his left shoulder (*Pl. 35c*). The stave of the bow has an inward bulge in the middle. The shape of the bow includes segments of three circles. The parts were probably, strongly joined together with bindings of hide, and the whole was generally painted and varnished.⁸⁴ However, the painting and the varnish of the bow cannot be made out from the relief. It is noteworthy, that the bows of this kind are still presented on ceremonial occasions by the chiefs of the Simla Hill states.

Precisely similar compound bow appears in the scene depicting 'the Mahākapi jātaka'⁸⁵. A bow-bearer is shown aiming his arrow to a leaping monkey with his compound bow (*Pl. 34a*). The bow is drawn in *Ūrdhva-Saṅdhāna* way. The string is drawn upto the tip of the ear (*Karṇayoni*). The archer is shooting in the *Vishāka* pose.

The favourite material for making this weapon was *kārmuka* wood. The Greeks report at an early date the use of the cane bows by the Hindus⁸⁶. Kautilya⁸⁷ enumerates bow types distinguished by materials, the *Kārmuka* being made of palmyra, the *kodaṇḍa* of bamboo the *drūṇa* of wood, and the *dhanus* of horn. He speaks of bow strings as made of *mūrva*, *arka*, of *śāṇa* of *gavedhu*; of *veṇu*, bamboo bark; and of *snāyu*, sinew. The word *cāpa* appear in the Buddhist literature. In the *jātakas* bows made of ram-horn, bamboo, or wood are mentioned frequently.⁸⁸ Kālidāsa⁸⁹ describes bows made of flexible rods with their ends joined by means of string called "*Jyā*". The *Agni Purāṇa*⁹⁰ praises its use by the remark that "of all the battles, that in which bows were used, is the best".

In art the sculptures of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa depicted self and compound bows.

(c) *Quiver (tūṇa or tūṇīra)*

The quiver is represented in the reliefs more than once. Thus, the scene⁹¹ depicting 'the Śyāma jātaka', the king is shown with a bow and a quiver (*Pl. 23a*). It is fastened at the back by means of straps in such a way that its mouth projects above the right shoulder so as to facilitate the drawings of arrows by the right hand. Its fastening of leather straps are passed over the shoulders, crossed in front (as seen in the case of *Channavīra*) and carried to the back. The quiver is a cylindrical container with tapering sides (*Pl. 23a*). Again, clear example of the quiver with its contents, arrows occurs on the front of the Eastern gateway⁹² (north end) (*Pl. 34*). The quiver is a cylindrical container with tapering sides and round base. It is shown held by a male in his left hand.

Quivers occurring on the coins of the Indo-Greeks and Scytho-Parthians are usually round, tapering at the bottom, broader at the top and open-mouthed⁹³. A terracotta from Ahichchhatra datable to the 5th century A.D. depicts a lady taking out a feathered arrow from the quiver tied upon her back.⁹⁴

In the jātakas, quiver has been mentioned as *khaṇḍa*⁹⁵. *Tūṇīra*, the quiver finds mention in *Kālidāsa*⁹⁶. The *Amarakośa* uses the terms *tūṇa* and *tūṇīra* for the quiver.⁹⁷

III. THE CUTTING WEAPON

The reliefs represent two varieties of cutting weapons namely, the swords and the battle-axe. Of them, the swords are illustrated frequently than the latter which gets its representation only once in the reliefs. The swords are designed either for cutting or for piercing or for both. Many of the swords illustrated in the reliefs are sheathed while some others are roughly represented or mutilated. This has made it difficult to make a comprehensive typological study of the Sanchi swords. However, in some cases, the reliefs represent naked swords and completely sheathed swords, thus enabling us to study the shape and make up of the weapons and to classify them according to the main functions for which they seem to have been originally designed.

Swords depicted in the reliefs fall under two categories; namely (a) cutting swords and (b) thrusting swords. The sheath of the sword has been dealt with separately.

(i) Swords

(A) *Cutting swords* :—Two types (1) round headed swords (*maṇḍalāgra*) and (2) flat tip headed swords (*asiyaṣṭi*) are met with.

(1) *Round headed swords (maṇḍalāgra)* :—This type of sword comes from panel⁹⁸ revealing the “war of relics”. A foot-soldier is shown brandishing a sword with round head (*Pl. 4c*). However, the sword is roughly represented. The sword seems to have been evidently designed for cutting, as it does not have a sharp point for thrusting. The blade may have been fixed to the hilt by means of tang. The end of the grip is provided with a pommel. This pommel had a double function of preventing the sword from slipping and of a counter-poise.

Another round headed sword is met with in the scene⁹⁹ representing “the war of the relics”. But in this case the sword is sheathed (*Pl. 4c*). A foot-soldier is shown with a sheathed sword. The nature of the sword can be guessed from the shape of the sheath and the position of the wrist loop. The wrist loop is presumably attached to the grip. That the hilt of the sword was whittled at the middle can be known from the outline of the grip which is slightly concave. The end of the grip is provided with a pommel.

These swords with rounded heads may represent *maṇḍalāgra* type of the *Arthaśāstra*.¹⁰⁰ It is probably, to this type of sword to which Arrian refers when he says that some Indians wear “a sword which is broad in the blade but no longer than three cubits, and this, when they engage in close fights (which they do with reluctance), they wield with both hands to fetch down a lustier blow”.¹⁰¹

(2) *Flat tip headed swords (asiyaṣṭi)* :—This type of sword is only once represented in the reliefs and that too suffers from rough representation and warrants close examination to ascertain its shape.

The scene¹⁰³ depicting “the war of relics”, illustrates a foot-soldier with this type of sword (*Pl. 4c*). He is shown holding this sword. Solely meant for cutting, its broad and long blade is flat at the top. The blade probably, was sharp on both the edges and fastened to the hilt by means of a tang. This sword with flat tip can be identified as *asiyashṭi*.

(B) Thrusting sword

The thrusting swords are rapiers and they are represented in the reliefs more than once. Generally, the rapier has sharp edges besides having a point. The narrower the blade of the rapier, the swifter and more effective is its action.

A rapier of this type is found in the scene¹⁰³ depicting “the Aśoka’s visit to the Bodhi” (*Pl. 5c*). A foot-soldier is shown holding a sheathed rapier. However, the nature of the rapier can be made out from the shape of the sheath. The rapier must be having edges besides having a point. The hilt of the rapier has a slender grip with a pommel at the terminal. The pommel appears to be heavy and serving the purpose of counter-poise. Precisely, similar sheathed pointed sword occurs in the panel¹⁰⁴ depicting “Mahākapi jātaka”. A soldier is shown holding it in his left hand (*Pl. 13a*). As for the description, it tallies with the above described one. The knotted thongs over the sheath are clearly visible. Yet in an other place¹⁰⁵ slightly different swords with pointed ends occur. Two persons are shown holding sword in their left hand while their right hands hold tray. One of the swords have pointed apex but it differs from the above swords with its broad blade. Similarly, other one also has broad blade with pointed tip.

These swords with pointed tip or head may be identified with *nistrimśa* of Kauṭilya¹⁰⁶ of *śulāgra* of Varāhamihira¹⁰⁷. In the later period, these pointed swords become very common as is evident from their frequent illustrations in the Ajanta paintings. Therefore, it is quite probable, that “cutting type” was slowly replaced by the thrusting type in later periods.

(1) *Sheaths : kosha(s)* :—An excellent example of the sheath of a sword is found with a *yakṣha* carved on one of the pillars of the Western gateway¹⁰⁸. The scabbard is cyllindrical in shape and has round base and in all probability, this scabbard could have been meant for a sword of *maṇḍalāgra* variety. The knotted thongs crossing over the broad scabbard are fastened by a pin with a *nandipāda* head¹⁰⁹ (Pl.27).

(2) *Battle axe (kuthāra)* :—The battle axe comes under the category of cutting weapons. There is only one representation of the battle-axe in the Sanchi relief.¹¹⁰ It consists of a broad crescentic blade fixed to a shaft.

IV. SHATTERING WEAPON

(*Vajra*) *Thunder-bolt* :—Thunder-bolt (*vajra*), a shattering weapon also occurs in the scene¹¹¹ depicting “Vessantara jātaka”. Indra is shown holding *vajra* in his right hand (Pl. 24c) while his left hand holds a *kunḍikā*.

Kauṭilya considers *vajra* to be a kind of club made of an iron.¹¹² The vajra is still an important symbol in Tibetan Buddhism and further east.¹¹³

In the early sculptures of Amarāvati¹¹⁴ and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā¹¹⁵ *vajra* or thunder-bolt is represented as three-pronged, a feature which continues in the medieaval period. In the Gandhāra sculptures¹¹⁶ it is shaped like a bone and perhaps suggests its origin from the bone of Dadhichi.

B. WEAPONS OF DEFENCE

Shields

The Sanchi reliefs depict two types of shields, namely (a) triangular and (b) oblong. Thus, the panel¹¹⁷ revealing “Ashoka’s visit to the Bodhi tree” illustrates shields of this type. A foot-soldier

appears with a triangular shield and a spear. The triangular shield has rounded corners and is decorated with central and vertical bands and two oblique bands issuing from the upper corners, all the three crossing each other in the middle. Similar triangular shield occurs at Ajanta. Again, in the same panel another triangular shield occurs but with different decoration. A foot-soldier is shown holding high a triangular shield. It resembles in description to the above one except in its decoration. In this case, it has a row of circles superimposed by a crescent.¹¹⁸

These triangular shields can be identified as the *hasti karna* variety of the *Arthaśāstra*¹¹⁹ and as the very name implies, they approximate, in shape and elephant's ear.

The other variety of shield namely, the oblong one occurs more than once in the reliefs. Thus, the scene¹²⁰ depicting "the war of relics" along, illustrates five foot-soldiers with this type of shield. They are all spear men having this type of oblong shape with rounded top and are decorated with cross bands resembling the "Union Jack" (Pl. 4c).

Yet in two other instances¹²¹ similar shields occur with slight difference. In these cases, the decoration on the shield differs from the above one. In the present case the decoration consists of rows of circlets interspersed with horizontal bands (Pls. 35b & c). But for this decoration the shield is exactly similar to the one described above.

These oblong shaped shields can be identified as *kavāṭa* of the *Arthaśāstra*¹²².

Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* furnishes ample details regarding the making of shields. He mentions materials as creepers, bamboo wood and leather for the manufacture of the shields. Arrian notes that they were of ox-hide¹²³ which is also confirmed by the epic evidence.¹²⁴

In fact Kauṭilya enumerates different types of shields like *carma* (leather shield), *hastikarna* (elephant's ear), *kavāṭa* (door-wing), *kīṭika* (light shield), *aparatihata* (irresistible) and *valāha kānta* (cloud-edged) used in self-defence¹²⁵ and interestingly, some of the types like *hasti-*

karna and *kavāṭa* get portrayal realistically by the Sanchi artists. The *jātakas* refer to extra-long shields and mention the formidable defence against arrows afforded by meticulously fashioned shields with 100 leather layers.¹²⁶ Later references occur in medieaval work like the *Mānasollāsa* and the *yuktikalpataru*.¹²⁷

REFERENCES

1. H.S. Harrison, *War and the chase*, London, County Council Publication, (1929), p. 10.
2. Similar classification is adopted by me while studying the weapons represented in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Gandhāra sculptures.
3. H.S. Harrison, *War and the chase*, London, Country Council Publication, (1910), p. 10.
4. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
5. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15.3.
6. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI, 58-9.
7. *Mahābhāratha*, V. 155. 1ff. See also Hopkins, E.W., *Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India*, JAOS, XIII, p. 292.
8. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
9. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.3.
10. *Ibid.*, 23a.
11. In Egypt, about the beginning of the first dynasty, throw-sticks are said to have been used as weapons (Petrie, W.W. Flinders, *Social life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 197.
12. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 18.2.
13. *Ibid.*, 62.2.
14. *Ibid.*, 40.3.
15. Stone-headed maces are still used in New Guinea and New Britain and the type also survived down to recent times in Africa. In these parts the stone is perforated for the wooden shaft and is fastened into various shapes. The mace represented in the relief does not seem to be of this type, and perhaps it represents the mace made entirely of metal. The mace made entirely of metal or having metal head is characteristic of the ancient civilization of Egypt, Asia and Europe. According to Harrison the maces of India which persisted in use till a much later date than did those of Europe, were similar to those of Persia (Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 21).
16. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15.3.
17. *Ibid.*, 62.3.
18. John Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, (London, 1931),

- p. 36; also Majumdar, R.C., and Pusalkar, A.D., *The Vedic Age*, (London, 1951), p. 178.
19. *Arthasāstra*, 11.18.
 20. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
 21. J. I, p. 273; II, p. 102; IV, p. 208.
 22. ii, p. 78, Text p. 225; cf. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
 23. Vidya Prakash, *Some aspects of Material life on Gupta coins*, JNSI, XXIII, no. 8, pl. VIII.
 24. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. X, figs. 15, 18.
 25. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. XIII, 9.
 26. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 66.a.
 27. *Ibid.*, 34. b.
 28. *Ibid.*, 25.1.
 29. *Ibid.*, 15. 1.
 30. Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, fig. 49.
 31. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 31.
 32. Yazdani, *op. cit.*, pl. III, pl. XXIX, a.
 33. *Arthasāstra*, p. 111.
 34. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
 35. Baden-Powel, B.H., Indian Arms and Armour, *Journal of Indian Art and Industries*, Vol. VI, (1896), p. 104.
 36. Marshall, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 35.
 37. IV, 4, 59.
 38. *Arthasāstra*, 11, 18.
 39. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 12.2; 15.3; 18.a; 23.a; 34. b; 50.1; 57; 61.1; 61.2; 61.3; 62.3; etc.
 40. *Ibid.*, 12.2.
 41. *Ibid.*, 57.2.
 42. *Ibid.*, 31.
 43. *Ibid.*, 44.
 44. *Ibid.*, 61.3.
 45. *Ibid.*
 46. *Ibid.*, 40 & 44.
 47. Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, (Sanchi), p. 60.
 48. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 65. 1.
 49. *Ibid.*, 15.3.
 50. *Ibid.*, 29.3.
 51. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent worship*, pl. XXXVI, fig. 2 and Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, (Sanchi), fig. 47.
 52. P.C. Chakravarti, *Art of war in Ancient India*, pp. 53 ff. (Dacca, 1941).
 53. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

54. Hopkins, *JAOS*, Vol. XIII, (1903), p. 275. The *Rāmāyana* refers to special names for arrows such *ardha-candra*, *karnibhalla* and *kshura* (V. 44, 7; VI, 59, 101); Majjhima Nikāya gives names such as *Vekanda*, *Karavirapatta*, etc. (Warren, *Buddhism in translations*, Harvard Orient Series, 3 (U.S.A., 1915), pp. 120-121.
55. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, p. 276.
56. *Ragh.*, V. 55.
57. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 303.
58. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 208.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
60. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
61. Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, 50.1.
62. *Ibid.*, 43.
63. *Ibid.*, 29.3.
64. *Ibid.*, fig. 133, 134, 182.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 25.1.
66. Pant, *op. cit.*, fig. 167.
67. Hopkins, *JAOS*, Vol. XIII, p. 270; cf. McCrindle, J.W., *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, (Calcutta, 1960), p. 225.
68. Hopkins, *JAOS*, Vol. XIII, p. 270.
69. Thurston, *op. cit.*, 11, pp. 27-28.
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71. C.J. Longman and H. Walrond, *Archery*, (London, 1894), p. 51.
72. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15.3; 61.3; 62.3; 65.1 etc.
73. *Ibid.*, 15.3.
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80. P.C. Chakravarti, *Art of War in Ancient India*, (Dacca, 1941), pp. 53 ff.
81. XX, 12.
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83. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 61.3.

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85. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 64.1.
86. *JAOS*, XIII, p. 269.
87. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 111.
88. *J. V.* No. 522, p. 67; p. 286; *Khandabala jātaka* (68).
89. *Ragh.*, V. 55.
90. Quoted by Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 297, from *Agni Purāṇa*.
91. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 65.1.
92. *Ibid.*, 43.
93. Pant, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
94. *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.
95. Mehata, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
96. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, 5.10; cf. *Raghuvamśa*, 11.30, vii. 56.
97. *Amara.*, p. 193.
98. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15.3.
99. *Ibid.*, 61.2.
100. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 111.
101. The *Arthaśāstra* mentions three types of swords, namely (i) *nistrimśa* (ii) *maṇḍalāgra* and (iii) *asiyashṭi*, p. 122.
102. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15.3.
103. *Ibid.*, 40.3.
104. *Ibid.*, 64.1.
105. *Ibid.*, 101.2.
106. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 111. The sword of thirty inches length has been *nistrimśa*.
107. A.M. Shastri, *Studies in the Brhat Samhitā of Vārāhamihira* (typed thesis) p. 294.
108. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 66.
109. Similar pin datable to 1st century A.D. is reported to have recovered from Taxila. cv. *ASR*, 1926, p. 113, no. 9 and pl. XXVI. II.
110. Maisey, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV, fig. 37.
111. *Ibid.*, 29.3.
112. II, ch. 18.
113. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, no. 61-64, fig. 25 L. (37 L).
114. *AI*, No. 6, fig. 3.
115. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig. XIII. 29.
116. *Ibid.*, (Gandhāra sculptures), p. 111.
117. Maisey, *op. cit.*, XXVII, also see pl. XXXV, fig. 32.
118. *Ibid.*, pls. XXVII and XXX, fig. 33.
119. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 112.
120. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15.3.

Weapons

197

121. Marshall & Foucher, 61.2 and 61.3.
122. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 112.
123. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 230.
124. *JAOS*, Vol. XIII, p. 257.
125. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 112.
126. VI, p. 454 Gr., 1610; *Y odha phalaka*, V.P. 389.
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CHAPTER ELEVEN

Games, Amusements and Other Pastimes

I. GAMES

(i) *Dice*

One of the games known to the people of the Sātavāhana period was dice play. Although the Sanchi reliefs do not reveal any evidence of the game, the excavations at the Sātavāhana sites like Dharaṇikota, Sālihuṇḍam, etc., have brought to light many dice pieces, indicating thereby the prevalence of the game during those days. Many dice pieces, made of ivory are evidenced in the Sātavāhana levels of the excavation.

The jātakas¹ make a mention of gambling with the dice and the names of the various ways to throw the dice and of the magic dice. In the Buddhist literature² game like *Attapāda* and *Dasāpāda* are also spoken of. It is known as *Chaturāṅga* Indian chess. Buddhagosha has explained this term in his commentary on *Dīghanikāya—Sumangala-vilāsini* as a game played on boards with eight rows having eight squares for each row. It may mean any other game like draught from which the modern game of chess has developed.

Interestingly, a bas-relief from Barhut³ portrays a scene where two men are sitting face to face. There is a board in front of them which is seen provided with a gradation arrangement of five squares in six lines or rows, one on top of the other, six little cubes, with marks on their sides, are also seen lying outside the board.

Excavations at Taxila⁴ have yielded a number of dice pieces datable to Indo-Greek and Śaka-Pārthian periods. However, no chess board is reported to have been discovered at Taxila. The recent excavations at Nāgārjunakonda⁵ have yielded traces of game-boards on some of the slabs of both secular and religious building.

The dice-play was not uncommon in ancient India. The vedic and *smṛti* literatures clearly state that gambling houses were managed by the state. The *Arthaśāstra*⁶ advocates a strict control of gambling by the state. Buddhist, Jain and Brāhmaṇical literatures speak of the existence of gambling houses at several places.

(ii) *Marbles*

Another game known to the Sātavāhana period was that of marbles. This information is again supplied by the excavation which have yielded innumerable terracotta balls. These balls might have been used as marbles—a popular game among the children even to this day. In Jaina literature⁷ a reference is made to lac-marbles (*vattayas*) in connection with play things for boys and girls.

(iii) *Hop-sotch*

This is a kind of game. That it was also known to the Sātavāhana people is to be inferred from a number of unperforated pottery discs discovered in the excavations. Similar pottery discs are commonly found at almost all the early historic and proto-historic archaeological sites. These were evidently used as the “housing pieces” by the hop-sotch players. This game is played in the states of Mahārāshtra, Tāmīlnādu and Karnāṭaka even to this day. In Mahārāshtra it is locally called *thikaribillā* and is a very popular game among children, particularly girls as elsewhere. In Āndhra Pradesh it is known as *tokkudā billā*.

II. SPORTS, AMUSEMENTS AND OTHER PASTIMES

The amusement and other pastimes of the people included aquatic sports, drinking, stick-play, chit-chatting, palm-reading, hunting and fishing. The Sanchi reliefs represent them realistically.

(i) *Aquatic sports*

The Sātavāhana people appear to have loved bathing. They spent their leisure in aquatic sports (*jala-kriḍās*). A *jala-kriḍā* or aquatic sport scene gets realistically depicted on the gateway⁸ of the stūpa-3. A king is shown riding in the midst of his part through a lotus pond, astride the neck of an elephant. Behind him is seated a woman bearing his standard and hanging on by a rope attached to the girth, whilst one of his wives is dangling from the tail and another from the ear of the animal. That the kings engaged themselves in *jala-kriḍās* in their pleasure parks can also be known from the scene depicted on the Southern gateway⁹ (Pl. 40). In this scene, a king, astride on the neck of an elephant is seen riding through a lotus pond. Behind him his queen brandishes the fly-whisk with her right hand and seems to be holding out her left to another woman to help her to climb up the back of the animal, which is busy tearing up the lotuses with his trunk. In the right hand corner, a single mango tree represents all the trees in the “pleasure park”. In the background on the terrace balcony of a palace, two ladies of the court are watching these “gambols in the water” (*jala-kriḍā*). Similar such scene where king with his retinue is engaged in *jala-kriḍā* in the pleasure garden again gets portrayal on Northern gateway¹⁰ (Pl. 11b). The Jaina literature refers to special parks where kings had their aquatic and other sports¹¹. In the jātakas period royal park was a necessary appendage to the royal city¹².

(ii) *Drinking*

Another amusement of the people was drinking. In the scene¹³ depicting the pleasure garden, couples are shown drinking while indulging in love dalliance. In a terraced garden the couples are shown drinking probably wine (Pl. 14). Such scenes of drinking by *mithuna* couple are common sight in early Indian art. Again, the couple depicted on the Northern gateway¹⁴ appears with a glass of wine (Pl. 11b). As such drinking appeared to be one of the amusements of the people during their leisure time. It is said in jātakas¹⁵ kings used to have great drinking festivals.

(iii) *Stick-play*

In the panel¹⁶ depicting the Māra's army, a demon of the Māra's army is shown holding a piece, presumably of wood, in each of his hands (*Pl. 24b*). He is shown in the act of striking one piece with the other. Evidently, he must be dancing while striking the sticks. As can be seen from the panel, he is playing the sticks in a music party. This kind of stick play is generally seen in music parties where people with this kind of sticks (*koṇas*) dance while striking the sticks one against the other, individually (as seen in the present case) or in groups. Similar plays can be seen even to this day before the temple car festivals or in *bhajan mandirs* in Āndhra Pradesh. The play is known as *kolāṭam* locally. In the Mysore region this play is known as *kolāta-kolu*. In Kanarese language it means a stick and *āta* means play. In Mahārāshtra and Gujarāt also, a stick play of this kind is known by the name *tipri*. The person who is represented in our relief may be playing a similar game.

(iv) *Chit-chatting*

The people of the Sātavāhana period had various ways of spending their leisure time. Some people spent their leisure time in chit-chatting as can be known from the panel¹⁷ depicting "Viśvantara jātaka". In this panel prince Viśvantara and the wife Madri both in anchorite dress are seen sitting leisurely before their hut and engaged in chit-chatting (*Pl. 24c*). The way in which Madri and Viśvantara are sitting are typical and heralds the present way of sitting of the people engaged in such chit-chattings. That the king and queen sometimes spent their time in the royal pleasure garden in chit-chatting can be known from the scene depicted on the Western gateway¹⁸ (*Pl. 39b*). In the scene as the king and the queen are shown engaged in a conversation, the *prāsādikas* watched the proceedings in the pleasure gardens from the royal balconies.

(v) *Palm reading*

Another avocation of the people of the Sātavāhana period was reading palms during their leisure times. In the panel¹⁹ depicting the

Māra's army two persons are shown engaged reading palm. While a person standing is shown with a stretched palm the other sitting is closely examining the hand. Apparently he is in the act of reading the palm. The whole scene is taking place on a way side (*Pl. 48c*). It is interesting to note that even in the present days we come across way side palmists engaged in such palm readings and as such the depiction in the relief while remaining realistic, becomes the earliest known sculptural representation of such incident in Indian art.

In ancient India, the fortune telling was a common art. In jāataka period we get several references to fortune telling²⁰.

(vi) *Hunting*

Hunting was a favourite pastime for the royalty and a livelihood for commoner. The panel²¹ depicting the "Syāma jāataka" reveals the king in a hunting dress (*Pl. 23a*). In this panel²² the king on a hunting party has adopted hunters trappings. Unfortunately, during his hunting expedition, the king commits involuntary homicide. The arrow issued by him kills Śyāma. Again, in another panel²³ revealing "Mahākapi jāataka", a king is shown in his hunting expedition (*Pl. 13a*). He has aimed his arrow towards the leaping monkey. The king wears the same hunter's dress as seen in the case of the king depicted in the Śyāma jāataka.

Sometimes, people went for hunting to earn their livelihood as can be seen in the panel²⁴ depicting Vesantara jāataka (*Pl. 17a*). In the scene two peasants shouldering spears or bows are shown going for hunting obviously to earn their livelihood. At the left, two others are returning from the forest. One of them is carrying two haunches of antelope balanced on his shoulder at the end of a stick. Evidently, he must be carrying his hunting prey.

Interestingly, the jātakas refer to regular class of hunters the *Uddakas* and the *nisādas* whose sole occupation was to capture or kill the animals and earn their living by selling them.²⁵ There were special villages of these hunters.²⁶ In all probability, the village represented in the relief may represent one such hunters village.

Again, in one of the reliefs²⁷ a man is shown slaying a lioness with the right hand and carrying off the cub in his left arm, probably with an intent to earn his living by selling it.

In another relief,²⁸ a person is shown defending himself from an animal's attack probably encountered during his hunting activities. In the panel, a curly headed man, wearing a phrygian cap and an embroidered sleeveless tunic, a kind of kilt, and big boots is defending himself with an ornamental shield and striking at a roaring lion with a short triangular dagger. It is a clumsy but manifest copy of one of the favourite themes of Persepolis.

Hunting was a favourite pastime of ancient Indian kings. In literature we get the graphic description of a royal hunt, such as that of Daśaratha in the *Raghuvamśa* and of the *Candrāpīda* in the *Kādambarī*²⁹. It also appears to be a favourite pastime of Gupta kings as is evident from their "Hunding" type of coins. At Ajanta also there are excellent illustrations of royal hunt.

(vii) Fishing

In the panel³⁰ illustrating the scene of "the village Uruvilva," a person appears standing on the banks of the lotus pond with a long bamboo and an object what appears like a net. Evidently, this person might be a fisher man, going for fishing in the lotus pond (*Pl. 18*). Interestingly, the *jātakas* inform that net and the line (*jāla : bālisa*) were used to catch fish³¹.

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1. *J.* 1, 151, 221; 111, 61, 131, VI, 171, 131, 137; VI, 137, 11, 175.
2. *Cullavagga*, 1.13.2.
3. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV, No. 9.
4. John Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, *Minor Antiquities*, Volume III, Plate 200, figs. 92, 93, 97, 98.
5. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
6. *Arthaśāstra*, iii, 20.
7. J.C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain canons*, (Bombay, 1947), p. 238.

8. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 101.3.
9. *Ibid.*, 12.2.
10. *Ibid.*, 34, b2.
11. *Pind Nir*, 214-215.
12. *J.*, I, pp. 175, 250, 325, 419, 505, III, pp. 143, 229 etc.; cf. Rock Edict, VI; *Arthaśāstra*, I, 10; II, 3.
13. Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, 64., c2.
14. *Ibid.*, 34.b2.
15. *J.* I, p. 362; V. pp. 13-4; VI, p. 161; also *J.* III, p. 40.
16. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.2.
17. *Ibid.*, 29.3.
18. *Ibid.*, 63.1.
19. *Ibid.*, 62.3.
20. *J.* I.p. 290.
21. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 65-1.
22. *Ibid.*, 65.1.
23. *Ibid.*, 64.1
24. *Ibid.*, 25.1.
25. *J.* II, p. 184; iv, pp. 252, 334, 337, 341, V. p. 41.
26. Cf. "Their industry was certainly a very important one. The large stretches of forest open to all separating most of the settlements; the absence of any custom of breeding cattle for the meat market; the large demand of ivory, fur, sinews, creepers and all other product of the woods; and the congeniality of the occupation, all tended to encourage these hunters". Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 94. The hunters had already been cut off from the rest of the society as in Greece; see Zimmer, "The mighty hunters of old days, once the pride of their small communities, were cut off from the society of growing city and became recognised out castes". *The Greek Common Wealth*, p. 236.
27. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 76, 14b.
28. *Ibid.*, 91, 88b.
29. Ghurye, G.S., "Some notes on Hindu costume", *BDCRI*, Vol. VIII, 1947, p. 151.
30. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 52. a2.
31. *J.* I, pp. 210, 482; II, O. 178, III, p. 370; V, p. 389-GG; 202-3.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Miscellaneous Objects and Other Items

I. MIRROR (MUKURA)

The mirrors depicted in the reliefs are of circular shape with their reflectors probably, made of foiled glass or crystal or polished metal plate. Thus, the panel¹ revealing "the king in the pleasure garden depicted a *mithuna* of which female is shown holding a mirror in her left hand, and looking into it, while the male is seen in the act of adjusting her ear ring. The mirror held by her is round and mounted on a handle probably, made of wood or ivory (*Pl. 14a*). The *jātakas* speak of ornamented ivory handles fixed to the mirrors (*āddasa dantātharu pacca vekkitarū mukhāni*)².

Another mirror, similar to the above one, is found held by a queen illustrated on the Northern gateway³. The queen is shown holding the mirror in her right hand. The mirror (*Mukura*) consists of a single disc with a concave front. The whole piece is mounted on a handle (*Pl. 46a*).

However, it is not possible to know from the reliefs the material with which the mirror was made. It was possibly made of a substance like glass or of metal and subsequently polished and made glossy like glass. "In Ancient times", says Gopinatha Rao,⁴ "when glass was either unknown or was not employed for making mirrors, highly polished metal plates of various designs were utilised to serve as mirrors. It may be remarked incidentally, that this old speculum industry has not yet died out in India. In a place called Aramula in

Travancore, such mirrors are still manufactured, and the mirrors made by the workmen of this place are so fine that they do not show distinction in reflection”.

In literature, Kālidāsa⁵ refers to the mirrors at several places and calls them as *vibhramadarpaṇa*. He even speaks of mirror made of gold⁶.

In early Indian art, the depiction of mirrors are in profusion. They occur in Barhut,⁷ Amarāvati,⁸ Nāgārjunakoṇḍa⁹ and Mathura¹⁰ sculptures. These mirrors with handles have close similarity to those found at Sanchi. Later, in the Gupta period, these handled mirrors appear to have been replaced by circular ones, without handles as is evident from their frequent depictions in the Ajanta paintings¹¹.

II. MAGIC RING-STONES

Two magic rings get their portrayal along with a necklace of charms on Southern gateway¹². Similar magic ring-stones in large numbers are reported to have been discovered at Mohanjodaro and Harappa¹³.

III. FOOTWEAR

The reliefs represent two varieties of foot-wear, namely (i) Sandal and (ii) boots

(i) Sandals

The sandals are depicted in the reliefs more than once. The king Viśvantara depicted in the scene¹⁴ revealing “Viśvantara jātaka” is shown wearing a sandal. It is a simple sandal of two straps joined at the point between first and second toe and is similar to the modern one. Precisely, similar sandal is again seen held in the hands of a palace attendant depicted in the panel revealing “the Viśvantara jātaka” on the Northern gateway¹⁵ (Pl. 24c). The sandals have very close resemblance to the present day modern plastic sandals (Havāi sandals).

It is again in the panel revealing "the Great Departure", the sandal is twice depicted. As seen above, it is also a simple one of two straps joined at the point between the first and the second toe. As can be seen from the sculptural representations, the sandals appeared to be the monopoly of the royalty and all others save the foreigners depicted in the reliefs appear bare-footed.

What is interesting is that the people who are shown in royal processions and the village men, appear without foot-wear. Perhaps, the artist portrayed them without foot-wear keeping with the general custom prevailing in rural areas even to this day. It is a common sight to see the villagers go bare-footed even when they are engaged in long journeys.

(ii) Boots

The band of foreign musicians, seemingly, Greeks, depicted in the panel¹⁶ revealing "Orchestra scene" wear top boots with braces fastened all around and upto the ankles (*Pl. 25a*). Precisely, similar long boot with braces fastened all around and upto the ankles is again met with in a goat rider depicted on the Eastern gateway¹⁷ (*Pl. 30a*). However, the top boots without braces are also seen worn by foreigners depicted on the gateway of the stūpa¹⁸.

Such boots occur on Greek vase paintings as worn by Greeks and Scythians as early as in the 5th century B.C.¹⁹ The persistence of this boot with slight variations can be seen in Etruria boot made of thick leather or felt. Similar, top-boots with lace fastenings continued in Persia in 2nd century A.D. and in the boot of Uthal, king of Harta²⁰. These long boots are known as *Kapha* in Persia, from which the Sānskrit name *Kaphus* has been derived.²¹ It is noteworthy that these boots without fastenings seemed to have gained popularity in Vākātaka-Gupta period.²²

IV. VILLAGE LIFE

An idea of the village life as existed in two thousand years ago can be gleaned from the Sanchi sculptural representation. The panel²³

revealing "scene of the village" of "Uruvīla" picturises vividly the rural life of the day (*Pl. 18*). The hectic activity in the village is impeccably depicted. The herds of cattle, buffaloes, goats depicted in the midst of huts and houses add to the naturalistic illustration of a village. Some women on the threshold of their cottages are shown deeply immersed in their house-hold tasks. Two of them are squatting. Their attention apparently distracted by the conversation of the men sitting near her is crushing *cari* powder on a stool-quern with the help of a muller and the other is winnowing rice in a *śūrpa*. Two others are standing, one husking rice in a mortar with a big wooden pestle and the other rolling dough for a bread. Two others, below at the right, pitchers on their hips, are going to draw water at what might be taken for a lotus pool and a third is already leaning forward in the act of filling her pitcher. In front of a building which seems to be the gate of the village, stands a man with a bamboo pole on his shoulder and a net in his hand. Evidently, he should have been a fisher man proceeding towards the lotus pond for fishing. Further right at the top another man shows us how a double burden can be balanced by hanging a basket by ropes on to the two ends of a bamboo. Such was the village life two thousand years ago; such it is today and there is not one of the utensils represented which is not still in use.

Again a conception of the hunter's settlement can be had from the panel revealing "the Viśvantara jātaka" elsewhere²⁴. In this panel, the life in the hunter's village can be gleaned (*Pl. 17a*). Two peasant women are sitting with their children in front of their cottages. In the middle, two people shouldering spear or bow are going for hunting. At the left two others are returning from the forest and the second is carrying two haunches of antelope balanced on his at the ends of a stick. Thus, the activity in a hunter's village can be made out.

V. LIFE IN THE HERMITAGE

An ample information as regards to the life in the hermitage during 1st century B.C. can be gathered from the sculptural representation on the Eastern gateway²⁵ (*Pl. 19*). The *parṇasālā*, the anchorites

with the dress of bark, the hectic activity for the preparation of the vedic sacrifice give a picturesque view of the life in the hermitage. In the panel, a novice is seen coming to a pond to draw water. In the middle an adult anchorite is shown taking chilly plunge in the pond or river. The lower register gives more details of the every day life in the hermitages. The bringing of the offering and the preparation of fuel for the sacrifice; the various shapes of the hearths and spoons for oblation; the use of fans of matting to coax the fire etc., visualise the hermitage life of those days.

VI. BAZARS

An idea of the bazar of 1st century B.C. can be gathered from the panel²⁶ revealing the procession of the king's retinue in the main street (*Pl. 10b*). In that, two women squatting on both sides of the road on *moras*, we can see, as at Amarāvati, the Vendors of offerings and religious articles which are to be found then, as now and in India as everywhere else around places of pilgrimage. If this identification is correct, we are sure of visualising a bazar of 1st century B.C.

Ancient works inform that the market place (*vipani*) was situated in the heart of the city and houses lined the market street (*āpaṇa mārga*) on both sides.²⁷ Bāṇa refers the city bazar of Ujjain which had a broad beautiful main street (*mahā-vipani patha*) flanked by shops behind which were residential quarters.²⁸

VII. CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

The scene of an execution of the capital punishment in the Sātavāhana period can be visualised from one of the reliefs at Sanchi²⁹. In the scene, an elephant has seized the victim's long hair in its trunk and is trampling him under its feet; and the elephant-driver, clearly a man of low caste, can be none other than executioner which explains why his attendant is only hanging on to the elephant's girth instead of displaying the usual insignia of honour, the umbrella, the fly whisk or standard.

It is stated that the trampling the criminals to death under the feet of elephants was in vogue in jāṭaka period³⁰.

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1. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 64.1.
2. *J*, V, p. 302, G. 37.
3. Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, 35. b2.
4. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, "The Hindu Iconography", Vol. 1, part 1 (Madras, 1914), p. 12. Seyffert speaking about the ancient Greece and Etruscan mirrors informs that for mirrors ancients used round or oval or square plates of melted and polished metal generally of copper mixed with tin, zinc and other material, often silvered and gilded. In later times, they were also made of silver. They were often provided with a decorated handle and ornamented on the back with engravings mostly of mythological objects. The Etruscan mirrors were remarkably fine in this respect (p. 395).
5. *Ragh.*, XIV. 37, XVII. 26, XIX. 28, 30; *Ku.*, VI. 22, 26, 36, VIII. II., *Śāk.*, VII. 32; *Ragh.* X, 10.
6. *Ragh.*, XVII. 26.
7. *ASR*, 1925-26, pl. LVIII.
8. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, fig. 17.
9. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, fig., X, 21.
10. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 120. It is reported that in the excavations at Begram in Afghanistan, mirrors with handles datable to 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. are recovered; vide Auboyer, *JISOA* XIV, pl. IV, a, d, pl. IX, nos. 73 to 75.
11. Kde B. Codrington "Ancient Indian Mirrors"; *Man.*, XXIX (1929) no. 130, p. 171. In Cavell (Victoria and Albert Museum) (I M. 42-85), Griffith's copy, Vol. 1, pl. 55. It is interesting to note that both kinds of mirrors are still common Java, some of which are decorated.
12. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 19a.
13. *Mohenjodaro and the Indus civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 61-63.
14. Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, fig. 16.
15. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29.3.
16. *Ibid.*, 36. c1.
17. *Ibid.*, 48.
18. *Ibid.*, 97.
19. Laver, James, *Style in Costume* (New York, 1949), p. 79, fig.1; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pl. II.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 119, fig. 1 and p. 121, fig. 1.
21. Motichandra, *Prācīna Bhāratīya Veśabhūṣā*, p. 117.
22. Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, (Ajanta), fig. XII, II and 17.
23. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 52. a1.
24. *Ibid.*, 52. a2, and a3.
25. *Ibid.*, 25. 1.
26. *Ibid.*, 18. b2.
27. B. S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa* (Benaras, 1947), p. 245.
28. *Kādambarī*, p. 56.
29. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 74. 1b.
30. *Jātaka.*, I, p. 200. In jātika period, punishments were of various kinds, fines, imprisonment, mutilation, banishment and death penalty, (*vadha—bandhana—chejja—bhejja*) (*J. V.*, pp. 245-6, 444; cf. *Arthaśāstra*; IV. 2; *R.E.* V; *P.E.* IV).

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Royal Insignia

The royal insignia (*Paricchada*)¹ depicted in the Sanchi reliefs, includes a royal throne, an umbrella, a pair of fly-whisks, a crown with a central gem, a sceptre, a conch of victory, a canopy of state, a golden foot-stool, flags and banners.

Of the royal emblems occuring in the reliefs, the thrones and foot stools are already dealt with in the chapter on furniture. As for the crown with a gem in the centre the reliefs do not represent them as kings are always shown with the turbans. The other emblems that appear in the relief include (i) an umbrella (ii) fly-whisk (iii) banner and (iv) scepter.

I. UMBRELLA² (CHHATTRA)

In the reliefs, the umbrellas are seen held over kings, princes, queens, *Sambodhi*, *Stūpa*, casket, *dharmacakra*, empty horse, gods, etc. Thus, as an insignia of royalty, the umbrella's utility was two-fold namely, temporal and religious. For kings, the royal umbrella was an inevitable appendage. It was held in great estimate³. Layard correctly observes when he says "the umbrella or parasol, that emblem of royalty so universally adopted by Eastern nations was generally carried over the king, in time of peace and sometimes even in war"⁴.

(i) *Umbrellas over the kings*

The scene⁵ representing "the return to Kapilavastu" reveals a royal umbrella being held over the king Suddhodana by a

chhattradhārīṇī. The umbrella has a prominent convex top and is surmounted on a long slender rod (*daṇḍa*) probably, wooden by means of a cup shaped neck (*Pl. 25c*). Precisely, similar umbrella is seen held over a king depicted on the Western gateway⁶. Tassels are seen slinging from the cup-shaped neck of the umbrella. Again, a different type of umbrella is met with in the panel⁷ revealing "Māra's army". The king Māra is seen with a royal umbrella held over him. In this case, the umbrella has a flat top and is surmounted on a thick rod presumably of wooden by means of a cup-shaped neck (*Pl. 24b*).

(i) *Umbrellas over princes*

The princes also had royal umbrellas held over them by the *chhattradhārīṇīs*. The panel⁸ illustrating "the Viśvantara jātaka" reveals a royal umbrella held over prince Viśvantara by a *chhattradhārīṇī*. This umbrella has a flat top. It is mounted on a long slender stem or *daṇḍa*, presumably of wood (*Pl. 36*).

(iii) *Umbrellas over queens*

The queen Māyā illustrated on the Western gateway⁹ appears with an umbrella held over her. In this case, the umbrella has a flat top and it is mounted on a slender rod (*Pl. 28c*).

(iv) *Umbrellas over Stūpas*

Umbrellas had also religious significance and were held over the *stūpa*. The panel¹⁰ depicting "the parinirvāṇa tumuli" and *Sambodhi* tree, on the Southern gateway reveal royal umbrellas over *stūpas*. The umbrellas have convex top surmounted over a rod by means of cup-shaped necks (*Pl. 4a*). As usual tassels sling from the cup-shaped neck of the umbrellas. Sometimes double umbrellas were held over the *stūpas* as seen in the relief depicting *stūpa* worship¹¹ (*Pl. 34a*). The umbrellas have in these cases flat tops and are surmounted on slender rod. The number of umbrellas also increased to three as seen in the relief depicting *stūpa* worship elsewhere¹². Three umbrellas, one over the other with a single handle are seen over the *stūpa*. The umbrellas have flat tops and are surmounted on a slender rod (*Pl. 42a*). Similar

type of umbrellas are met with in the early sculptures of Amarāvati¹³ and Barhut¹⁴.

Sometimes, a number of umbrellas were arranged—sprouting sideways, obviously to indicate the superiority over temporal power. Thus, in a panel depicting “stūpa worship” on a Southern gateway¹⁵, can be seen a number of umbrellas sprouting sideways from a common base. The umbrellas are all with flattish top and mounted on slender rods, probably of wood, by means of a cup-shaped neck (*Pl. 4a*). Similar examples are to be seen in the sculptures of Amarāvati¹⁶. However, such groups of umbrellas occur in amazing numbers in the sculptures of 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.

(v) *Umbrellas over relics*

The panel¹⁷ illustrating the battle scene, reveals an umbrella held over the depicted relic. The umbrella has a flat top and is mounted on a slender rod (*Pl. 4c*).

(vi) *Umbrella over the Sambodhi*

The panel illustrating “the seven last Mānushi Buddhas”, represented alternately, by the trees of their *Sambodhi* and the tumuli of their *parinirvāṇa* on the Northern gateway¹⁸ reveal umbrellas over the *Sambodhi*. The umbrellas have flat tops and are surmounted over a rod by means of cup-shaped necks. The tassels are seen slinging from the cup-shaped neck.

(vii) *Umbrella over the Dharmacakra*

The panel¹⁹ revealing Dharmacakra worship illustrates an umbrella over the *dharmacakra*. The umbrella has a flat top surmounted on a rod by means of a cup-shaped neck. Precisely, similar umbrella with a flat top is again seen over a *Dharmacakra* depicted on the Eastern gateway²⁰. Tassels slinging from the cup-shaped neck of the umbrella are clearly seen (*Pl. 49*).

(viii) *Umbrella over a riderless horse*

In the panel²¹ revealing “the Great Departure”, fly whisk and umbrella are seen held over the rider-less horse *Kaṇṭaka* four times²².

The umbrellas and fly-whisks over the riderless horse are to signify the invisible presence of the Bodhisattva. All the umbrellas depicted in the relief are having flattish top and are surmounted on long rods by means of cup-saped necks (*Pl. 5b*). Again, over the riderless horse Kantaka can be seen an umbrella in the relief²³ depicted on the Southern gateway. Here, the groom Channa is also represented. In this case, the umbrella has a convex top and is surmounted over a long rod by means of cup-shaped neck. The idea behind the holding of an umbrella over an empty horse is to signify the presence of the invisible Bodhisattva.

(ix) *Umbrella over an empty chariot*

Sometimes, umbrellas are shown held over the empty chariot in the reliefs. Thus, the panels²⁴ revealing the episodes like "Four Drives" "Great Departure" etc.. on the Northern gateway reveal an empty chariot over which a royal umbrella is held to signify the presence of the prince Siddhārtha. The umbrella has a flat top and is surmounted on a slender, long rod by means of a cup-shaped neck.

(x) *Umbrella over a Cūḍa*

The panel²⁵ depicting "the feat celebrated by the thirty-three gods" in the honour of Cūḍa reveals a royal umbrella over Cūḍa. This was perhaps necessitated for honouring the future Buddha. The umbrella has a flattish top and is surmounted on a long, slender rod by means of a cup-shaped neck (*Pl. 10c*).

(xi) *Umbrella over an elephant Shaddanta*

In the panel²⁶ revealing "Shaddanta jātaka", fly-whisk and an umbrella are shown held over the elephant Shaddanta who is none else than Bodhisattva. The umbrella is shown held over the elephant Shaddanta by another elephant. The umbrella has flat top and is surmounted over a long rod by means of cup-shaped neck. Tassels are seen slinging from the cup-shaped neck of the umbrella (*Pl. 4b*).

(xii) *Umbrella over the gods*

Umbrellas were also held over the gods. Thus, the panel²⁷ illustrating the first Six Devalokas reveal a royal umbrella over the god

Indra. The umbrella has a flat top and is surmounted on a thick long rod probably of wood, by means of a cup-shaped neck. The tassels slinging from the cup-shaped neck of the umbrella are clearly seen (Pl.21).

Reference to *Chhattras* are in plenty in Sānskrit literature²⁸. In art, the depiction of the umbrellas, signifying temporal and spritual powers is copious. In the early sculptures of Barhut²⁹, Amarāvati³⁰, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa³¹, Goli³² etc. the umbrellas appear over religious edifices like *stūpas* etc., and also over the heads of the kings, princes and queens. At Mathura³³, a square shaped umbrella is noticed. Agrawala identified it as *Padmātapatra*. However, the early specimens of stone parasols of the Kushāna³⁴ period reveal decoration of concentric circular bands in the interior of the *chhattra* and the morticed projection in their centres gives the appearance of a lotus flower.

The umbrellas of the early Gupta period³⁵ have fine holes on their outer rims, for hanging jewellery or flowers, as seen in some of the umbrellas noticed at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Gandhāra. At Ajanta, both the varieties, namely, flat and convex topped umbrellas, occur³⁶.

II. FLY-WHISKS (CĀMARAS)

Fly-whisks are next in importance to the umbrella among the items of royal insignia. They are generally seen in the reliefs being waved or attended on kings and princes. They have also religious significance, when they are shown waved before the Sambodhi or the symbolic representation of the Buddha.

(i) *Fly-whisk or camara for the king*

The panel³⁷ depicting "the scene of Parinirvāṇa" reveals a fly-whisk before the king (Pl.32b). The *chāmaradhāra* is shown standing before the king with his fly-whisk resting on his shoulder. Again, there is a clear depiction of a fly-whisk being waved by the queen for the king. The queen is shown brandishing the fly-whisk with her right hand as the king sits in front of her on the elephant's back. This is the only instance in the whole range of Sanchi relief where a queen is shown waving the fly-whisk for the king.

In the panel³⁸ depicting “the return to Kapilavastu” (Pl.25c), a *cāmaradhāriṇi* is shown in the act of waving a fly for the king Suddhodana, precisely similar fly-whisk is seen in the hands of a *cāmaradhāriṇi* depicted in the panel³⁹ revealing the king in the pleasure garden. A *cāmaradhāriṇi* standing before the king is shown in the act of waving the fly-whisk (Pl.39c).

(ii) *Fly-whisk for the princes*

The fly-whisk was waved before the princes. Thus, the panel⁴⁰ revealing “the Viśvantara jātaka”, illustrates a *cāmaradhāriṇi* as waving a fly-whisk before the prince Viśvantara (Pl.36).

(iii) *Fly-whisk for the Sambodhi*

Fly-whisks are also seen in the reliefs being waved before the *Sambodhi*. Thus, the panel⁴¹ revealing “the symbolic representation of the Mānushi Buddhas”, reveals the *cāmaradhāriṇi* in the act of waving the fly-whisk before the *Sambodhi* (Pl.4a).

(iv) *Fly-whisk for the relic casket*

An excellent example of a fly-whisk waved for the relic casket can be known from the panel⁴² depicting “the transport of the relic”. A *cāmaradhāra* is shown in the act of brandishing the fly-whisk for the relic casket (Pl.3).

(v) *Fly-whisk for the riderless horse*

In the panel⁴³ revealing the “Great Departure”, the fly-whisk is shown held over the riderless horse Kantaka (Pl.5b). The fly-whisk over the riderless horse is to signify the invisible presence of the Bodhisattva.

(vi) *Fly-whisk for the elephant Shaddanta*

In the panel⁴⁴ revealing “Shaddanta jātaka”, the fly-whisk is shown held over elephant Shaddanta who is none else than the Bodhisattva. The fly-whisk is shown held over the elephant Shaddanta by another elephant (Pl.6b).

The specimen available in the Sanchi reliefs consists of a slender handle on which is set the whisk. The whisk was usually made of yak-tails, imported from the Sub-Himalayan regions. The handle was usually made of wood and is said to measure "one cubit" (with the fist closed)⁴⁵. Fly-whisks, black and white in colour, were presented to Harsha by Bhāskara Varman⁴⁶.

III. BANNERS OR STANDARDS (DHVAJA)

The banners, with the *lāñchanas* of the royal house, formed a distinctive feature of every king's appendage. They were carried either before or behind a king. The banner is of extreme importance in a battle as the rallying point for soldiers in action or for the assemblage of troops who have a feeling of patriotic devotion to it.

The Sanchi reliefs represent banners being held before or behind the royalty⁴⁷. The best example of the banner held over a royal personage occurs on the Eastern gateway⁴⁸. The banner is shown held by a standard-bearer sitting over the sloping back of an elephant. The banner consists of a *triratna* standard from below which is suspended an oblong banner bearing stripes similar to those on the "Union Jack" (Pl. 49). Sometimes, clusters of pearls strings were suspended from the top as can be known from the panel⁴⁹ illustrating "the royal procession" (Pl. 39a).

That the banners were also used in the battle scenes can be known from the panel⁵⁰ revealing "the war of relics". The banner depicted in this panel consists of a *triratna* standard from below which is suspended oblong banner bearing stripes similar to those on the "Union Jack".

IV. SCEPTRE

The panel⁵¹ depicting "the transport of the relics" reveals sceptre comprising a long pole with disc-shaped top probably, with a gem in the centre (Pl. 48a). Cluster of pearl strings are also seen slinging

from the top⁵² (Pl. 39a). Sometimes that *triratna* is added on the top of the sceptre can be known from the panel⁵³ revealing "Ashoka's visit to the Bodhi tree" (Pl. 5c).

REFERENCES

1. B. S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa* (Allahabad, 1947), pp. 77 ff.
2. For detailed account of umbrella see note on "umbrella" on appendix ii, by N. M. Penzer, in Vol. ii, of the "Ocean stories". C. H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*.
3. The Greeks in ancient times used the umbrella as a mystic symbol in some of their sacred festivals. Romans introduced the custom of hanging an umbrella in the basilican churches as a part of the insignia of the office of the judge sitting in the basilica. See R. L. Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, vol. 2, p. 264.
4. Layard's *Ninevah*, ii, 327.
5. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 36ca.
6. *Ibid.*, 57.1.
7. *Ibid.*, 29.2.
8. *Ibid.*, 23.2.
9. *Ibid.*, 56.
10. *Ibid.*, 15.1.
11. *Ibid.*, 43.2.
12. *Ibid.*, 41.1.
13. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI, fig. 1 and pl. V, fig. 6; cf. U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. iii, fn. 1.
14. Barua, *op. cit.*, pls XXII-17; C; LII-54.
15. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 12.4.
16. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. LXI, fig. 1, Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XXI & XXII, Burgess, *op. cit.*, fig. 28, p. 33; pl. XXXII-5; XL-2.
17. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15.3.
18. *Ibid.*, 22.
19. *Ibid.*, 25.
20. *Ibid.*, 42.
21. *Ibid.*, 40.2.
22. The four-fold representation of the horse "going out" may be meant to remind us of the "Four Drives".
23. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 16.1.
24. *Ibid.*, 18. b3.
25. Vide *Lalitavistara*, (Ed) Heffmann, p. 225.
26. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15.2.

27. *Ibid.*, 49.1.
28. *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, 64, 45, VI, 59, 24; 11.26.10; Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 264; Pāṇini, VI, IV, 97; U.P.Shah, A note on Stone Umbrellas from Mathura, *JUSH* ? Vol. XXIV-XXV (1951-52), p. 206; *Prśnavyākaraṇa Sūtra*, Ed., with commentary Jñānavimāla Sūri (Ahmedabad), Vol. 1, pp. 74-76. *J. V.*, 532, p. 170, *Cullavagga*, V. 23.3, *Vinaya Texts*, iii, p. 133; *Śak.*, V. 5, p. 315.
29. Barua, *op. cit.*, pls. XXII-17d-41; XLIX-51; LXXVI-101; L-52; XXII-176; LII-54; XXX-25.
30. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V, fig. 2, 10, XIX-1-b, XXVII-1, XXVIII, 6, XLI-1, 1, XXXIX, fig. 3, LXI, fig. 1; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XVII, XXVIII, XLIII, XLV, XIII, VII, IV, XLIV, XXI, XXII; Burgess, *op. cit.*, pls. XVIII-4; XXXII-4, XXXVIII-5; XL-1, XLI-6; XX-2; XXXII-6, XL-2.1.
31. Krishna Murthy; *op. cit.*, pl. XII, 19. 20.
32. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli, sculptures), pl. V-b, IX, No. 6.
33. Agrawala, V.S., "A new stone umbrella from Mathura, *JHUS*, Vol. XX, arts, i, ii, p. 67.
34. Vidya Prakash, *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 281-282; see also Sarnath Museum, Cat. No. 13(a), p. 34, pl. VIII.
35. Sarnath Museum, Cat. No. D(C), 1, p. 229.
36. Vidya Prakash, *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, figs. 66.6 8.
37. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 11.2.
38. *Ibid.*, 36.c3.
39. *Ibid.*, 63.2.
40. *Ibid.*, 23.2.
41. *Ibid.*, 15.1.
42. *Ibid.*, 61.1.
43. *Ibid.*, 40.2.
44. *Ibid.*, 15.2.
45. *Bṛhatsamhitā* (Ed) by V. Subrahmanya Sastri, Vol. II, Ch. 72, p. 583.
46. Agrawala, V.S. "Bhāskaravarman's present to Harṣa, *JOI*, Vol. X, 1960, p. 105.
47. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 11.2. 15.3, 42, 44, 47, 63, 1.
48. *Ibid.*, 42.
49. *Ibid.*, 63.1.
50. *Ibid.*, 15.3.
51. *Ibid.*, 62.1.
52. *Ibid.*, 63.1.
53. *Ibid.*, 40.3. Also see Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, (Sanchi,) fig. 65.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Flora and Fauna

A. FLORA

The flora represented in the Sanchi reliefs is scanty as compared to the fauna. Even the available data suffers much due to rough representation. However, a fair idea of the flora of the Sātavāhana period can be culled out from the distinctly sculptured examples. Some of the trees like the *pippal*, *pāṭali*, *palm*, banyan, mango, śāl etc., can be identified at a glance. The principal trees that appear in the reliefs are briefly as under.

TREES

(i) *The Pippal (Ficus religiosa)*

The identification of this tree is certain as it was the sacred tree of the Śākya Muni. Invariably, it is represented in the reliefs¹ as the tree of the Śākya Muni, one of the seven *Mānushi-Buddhas*². However, the clear depiction of this tree occurs in the scene revealing "the monkey's offerings at Vaiśālī", on one of the pillars of the Northern gateway³. Similarly, the scenes illustrating "Bodhi tree worship" in front of the Eastern gateway⁴ (bottom lintel) and the panel revealing "the Sambodhi" on one of the pillars of the Western gateway⁵ illustrate the *aśvattha* tree distinctly. The tree is realistically represented with its pointed single leaves.

The *pippal* tree (*Aśvattha*) is held sacred both by the Hindus and the Buddhists. It is the Bodhi tree⁶. In the Lalitavistara⁷ it is said that

this tree stood in the centre lording over the Sylvan kingdom. It is well-known that the Buddha obtained supreme enlightenment at the foot of this tree⁸. In the *Mahāpadānasutta* of the *Digha-nikāya* gives the Bo tree of the seven Buddhas including the Bo tree of the last Buddha.

This large tree presently grown in the sub-Himalayan forests from the Punjab east-wards, Bengal, Orissa, Circar, Central India and Upper Burma⁹.

(ii) *The Banyan tree (Ficus Bengalensis, Linn)*

This tree (*Nyagrodha*) appears in the reliefs more than once¹⁰. A clear depiction of this tree occurs on the front of the Western gateway¹¹, Eastern gateway¹² and Northern gateway¹³. One of the best specimens of this tree is in the scene revealing the legend of the six tusked elephant, on the back of the Northern gateway¹⁴ (*Pl. 24a*), where the tree can be recognised by its pendant roots. Again, an excellent representation of this tree will be found on the back of the Northern gateway¹⁵ in the scene of "Viśvantara jātaka" (*Pl. 33a*) and in the scene of "Nyagrodha arama" represented on one of the pillars of the Northern gateway¹⁶ (*Pl. 46b*).

The jātakas refer to the banyan trees growing on the slopes of the Himalayas (Himavantapasse). Even now, it is found largely in sub-Himalayan forests from Peshawar to Assam in the deciduous forests of Bihar, Central India and South India.¹⁷

(iii) *The Pāṭali tree (Bignonia Suaveolens)*

This tree is represented frequently in the reliefs¹⁸ as the Bodhi tree of the Buddha Vipāśyin. An excellent depiction of this tree occurs on the front Western gateway¹⁹ (north end) (*Pl. 28a*). Another clean examples of this tree can be seen in the scene illustrating "the Gift of Jetavana", on the pillar of the Northern gateway²⁰ and in the scene of "the conversion of Kaśyapas" on the southern pillar of Eastern gateway²¹ (*Pl. 15a*). However, there is a realistic depiction of a *Pāṭali* tree in the scene of "the everyday life in the hermitages" (*Pl. 19b*) depicted on the south pillar of Eastern gateway²². The *Pāṭali* is also called the trumpet flower tree²³.

(iv) *The Sāl tree (Shorea robusta)*

There is a solitary representation of this tree on the front Northern gateway²⁴. According to the Buddhist scriptures, Māyā Devi gave birth to Siddhārtha while standing under the Sāl tree. It was worshipped by village and town folk as a lucky tree²⁵. It is found at present in two principal regions in India, namely, the Himalayan region and the Central India covering the regions upto Viśākhāpatnaṁ area in Āndhara Pradesh²⁶.

(v) *The Mango tree (Mangifera Indica)*

The mango tree appears in the reliefs frequently²⁷ and easily recognisable by its fruits. An excellent depiction of this tree occurs on front of the Eastern gateway²⁸ (Pl. 41). A Sālabhañjika is shown touching the tree with her hand (i.e.) in the act of *sparsā dohada*. The other best specimens of this tree can be seen in the scene of "Mahābiniṣhkramaṇa",²⁹ the sermon under the mango tree and "Viśvantara jātaka"³⁰ depicted on the front of the Eastern gateway (middle section), on the pillar of the Northern gateway and back of the Northern gateway respectively (Pls. 5b, 33a). The mango tree (*amba*) is referred to frequently in the Buddhist texts³¹. The *Jivaka-ambavana* was well-known in the Buddhist period.³²

(vi) *The Champaka tree (Michelia Campaca)*

It is represented more than once in the reliefs³³ as the Bodhi tree (*Nāga-pushpa*) of Maitreya, the successor of the Buddha. The scenes illustrating "Conversion of Kaśyapas"³⁴ on the southern pillar of the Eastern gateway (Pl. 15a), Sambodhi³⁵ on the front of the Western gateway (north end) (Pl. 28a), "a king in the pleasure garden"³⁶ on the back of the Western gateway (Pl. 39b) and "the gift of Jetavana"³⁷ on one of the pillars of the Northern gateway (Pl. 12b) offer realistic representation of the *Campaka* tree.

It is frequently referred to in the Buddhist texts³⁸. Buddhaghosa informs that *campaka* trees were in abundance in the city of Campa³⁹. This pretty tree is presently found in Bengal.

(vii) *The Siris tree (Acacia Sirisa-Albizzialebbek)*

This thorny cool leaved tree occurs in the reliefs more than once.⁴⁰ A clear example of it can be seen carved on the back of Southern gateway (middle section)⁴¹ (Pl. 4a), front of Northern gateway,⁴² front of Western gateway⁴³ (Pl. 50) and back of the Eastern gateway⁴⁴.

(viii) *The Udumbara tree (Ficus glomerata, roxb)*

This tree appears more than once in the reliefs⁴⁵. A fine depiction of the *udumbara* tree can be seen on front of the Western gateway⁴⁶ (south end) (Pl. 43). It is also represented on front of the Northern gateway⁴⁷ and back of the Southern gateway⁴⁸ (Pl. 4a).

The *udumbara* is referred to frequently in the Buddhist texts⁴⁹. It is known as *yajñadumura* in Bengal⁵⁰.

This tree is depicted in the reliefs more than once.⁵¹ The scene representing "Viśvantara jātaka" on the back of the Northern gateway⁵² portrays hermitage (Pl. 24c). On that can be seen the illustration of Plantain trees on either side of a hut. The presence of the plantain tree along with the other trees like *pātali*, *fanpalm* etc., add beauty to the *parṇa-śālā*. Again, the scene of the "return of the perfectly accomplished Buddha to Kapilavastu" on the pillar of the Eastern gateway⁵³ depicts clearly a plantain tree (Pls. 6a & b). The best specimens of plantain tree, however, are portrayed in the scene depicting "the miraculous victory over naga" on southern pillar of Eastern gateway⁵⁴ (Pl. 19a). Before the hut of Kaśyapa six plantain trees in row are shown.

This tree is a common tree and is grown now all over the country.

(ix) *The date palm tree (Phoenix Silvestris)*

This tree is thrice represented in the reliefs.⁵⁵ An excellent example of this tree can be seen on the back of Eastern gateway⁵⁶ (north end) (Pl. 48).

(x) *The Tar tree (Borassus flabelliformis)*

This tree is represented in the reliefs more than once.⁵⁷ A realistic representation of this tree can be seen on the back of the Western gateway⁵⁸ (south end) (Pl. 39b). Again, the clear examples of this tree can be found on the front of the Western gateway⁵⁹ (middle section) and on the pillar of the Eastern gateway⁶⁰ (Pl. 19b). This tree fan-palm with its spreading pointed leaves can easily be recognised in the reliefs.

(xi) *The Jack tree (Artocarpus Integrifolia)*

This jack tree (*Panasa*) is represented only once in the reliefs. The scene of the legend of the six tusked elephant carved on front of the Western gateway⁶¹ (middle section) illustrates a jack tree distinctly. Its fruits can be made out easily (Pl. 50c).

This large ever-green fruit tree is frequently mentioned in Buddhist texts⁶². The *jātaka*⁶³ interestingly refers to a groove of jack-fruit of the size of the water-jar (*cāṭippamāṇaphalam panasavanam*) in the Himālayas.

(xii) *Fruits*

Among the fruits banana⁶⁴, mango⁶⁵, grapes⁶⁶ and custard apple⁶⁷ (*sitā-phal*) get their depictions in the reliefs.

(xiii) *Flowers*

Among the flowers the red and pink lotus and blue lotus get their portrayal in the reliefs.⁶⁸ It is extensively used in the ornamentation of the bases of medallions of the pillars and rails. The lotus plant with its buds and blossoms is found on a large scale on the medallions.

The *jātakas*⁶⁹ refer to five kinds of lotus (*Pañcavaṇṇa padma sanchanno*). The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang⁷⁰ speaks of four varieties of lotus flowers namely *padma* (red lotus), *utpala* (blue), *puṇḍarika* (yellow) and *Kumuda* (white) in a tank.

It is interesting to note that a majority of the flora represented in the reliefs is still grown in Madhya Pradesh. The trees like the

pippal, the banyan, the *sāl* and the mango are abundantly grown in the regions in and around Sanchi. It is quite probable that the surrounding silvan culture should have been the subject matter for the sculptor while portraying the jātaka stories and life scenes of the Buddha. The other trees which are alien to Sanchi might have been borrowed either from their depictions in early Indian art or from the Buddhist texts by the artists of Sanchi.

B. FAUNA

The fauna portrayed in the Sanchi reliefs is of two classes, namely, the real and mythical animals (*ihāmrgas* or *vyālas*)⁷¹. The real animals comprise quadrupeds like lion, elephant, horse, bull, buffalo, cow, monkey, boar, dog, otter, goat, ram, rat, squirrel, antelope, deer, stag, camel, rhinoceros; reptiles like the snakes; birds, like parrot, peacock, crow, eagle, crane, pea-hen; and aquatic animals such as fish, swan, crocodile, tortoise etc. The mythical animals include lion with wings, or horn or beak (griffin); with human faced winged stag; doe with horn; mountain goat or ram with human face; winged horse; winged or flying elephant bull with human face and ram horn; centaur ridden by woman, she-centaur ridden by man; makara with elephant fore-quarters and rear fish tail, makara with stag fore-quarters and fish tail back and makara with lion fore-quarters and fish tail back; and man-faced horse; stag with elephant head; staf with fish tail; horse-faced man; sea-bull with fish tail, female (*Nāgini*) with fish tail or mermaid *kiñnara* and *kiñnari* etc.

Classification:—The real fauna depicted in reliefs are however, classified on the basis of its adaptation⁷² for (i) creeping (ii) swimming (iii) walking and running (iv) jumping (v) flying.

(i) *Creeping creatures*

Creeping animals here are understood to be those which are able to move upon a firm surface without the aid of paired jointed limbs of the type found in a dog. Under this category, fall the serpents or

snakes which creep with their row of broad ventral scales. The serpent is frequently represented in the relief. Thus, the scene depicting "the Nāgarāja mucilindā and the goatherd's fig-tree," carved on the pillar of the Southern gateway⁷³ illustrate a Nāgarāja with five hoods (*Pl. 44a*). Again, the scene of Buddha's victory over the serpent, carved on the south pillar of Eastern gateway⁷⁴ (*Pl. 19a*) depicts a Nāgarāja rearing his polycephalic hood behind the Master's throne. A five hooded Nāga (serpent) with his Nāgī with single hood can be seen carved on the front of Southern gateway⁷⁵ (middle section). There is an excellent depiction of five hooded Nāga carved (in the scene of the Buddha in solitude in the forest) on the back of the Eastern gateway⁷⁶ (*Pl. 46b*).

In the early Indian art, the serpent is frequently depicted. At Barhut⁷⁷ a seven hooded nāga is depicted. Likewise at Amarāvati⁷⁸ and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa⁷⁹ the panels depicting "the Buddha protected by the Nāga muchalindā" and the *Campeyya Jātaka* reveal multi-hooded nāgas⁸⁰. The Goli sculptures also depict a huge seven hooded nāga.

(ii) *Swimming creatures*

(a) *Fish*:— The fish is represented more than once in the reliefs. Thus, the scene revealing "Mahākapi jātaka" on the Western gateway pillar⁸¹ illustrates fishes swimming in the river Ganges (*Pl. 13a*). The swimming of the fishes is realistically depicted. Their body is smooth and torpedo-shaped with a wedge-like head. This form is the one best adapted for clearing easily through the water. Again, the scene⁸² revealing "Two Nāgarājas and the river Maṇḍākinī", carved on the bottom lintel of the front gateway⁸³ of *stūpa*-3, illustrates fishes swimming in the waving waters of the river Maṇḍākinī. In one scene, revealing "Indra's visit," carved on the Northern gateway pillar⁸⁴ a fish is shown being trampled by an elephant. In another place,⁸⁵ a fish is shown being swallowed by a sea monster. A pair in fish in terracotta occurs from Koṇḍāpur⁸⁶.

(b) *Crocodile*:— The scene⁸⁷ revealing "the conversion of the Kaśyapas," on the south pillar of Eastern gateway illustrates a crocodile (*Pl. 15a*).

(c) *Swan*:— Swan is frequently represented in the reliefs.⁸⁸ An excellent example of a duck occurs on the front of Southern gateway⁸⁹ (Pl. 32a). The scene depicting “the life in the hermitage”, carved on the back of the Northern gateway⁹⁰ illustrates a duck swimming in a pond. Again, clear depiction of the swans can be seen in the scene “revealing conversion of Kaśyapas” on the southern pillar of Eastern gateway⁹¹ (Pl. 15a). Two swans are remarkably carved face to face on the reliefs of *stūpa*-2.⁹²

(d) *Tortoise*:— Tortoise is represented more than once in the reliefs. The scene depicting “the Two Nagarājas with attendants” in the front of gateway⁹³ of *stupa*-3 reveals a tortoise in the waving water of the river Maṇḍākinī. Again, on the front gateway⁹⁴ of *stupa*-3 (west end) a tortoise is shown swimming in the river Maṇḍākinī.

(iii) *Walking and running creatures*

Walking and running animals as distinguished from creeping animals are generally construed to be those whose bodies are carried above the ground on the paired jointed legs of the type of a dog. The animals adopted for this type of locomotion include, lion, elephant, horse, bull, buffalo, cow, dog, hog, boar, camel, goat, rhinoceros, otter, rat⁹⁵ etc. These animals get their meticulous representation in the reliefs.

Such animals whose locomotion is effected by walking and running can be broadly divided into wild and domestic animals. Thus, the wild animals comprise of lion, elephant, hog, boar, camel, otter, and rat and domestic animals include horse, bull, buffalo, dog, goat and cow.

(iv) *Wild animals*

(a) *Lion*:— The lion is depicted frequently in reliefs⁹⁶ and is easily distinguishable by his mane. Thus, in the scene depicting “Viśvantara jātaka” on the front of the Northern gateway⁹⁷ (Pl. 17a), a lion is realistically portrayed with its long and curved tail in a jungle.

Another realistic depiction of a lion occurs in the scene of hermitage carved on the front of the Northern gateway⁹⁸ (west end). The lion is shown sitting in its majestic characteristic pose with its curved tail brought into its back. The feet are perfect and correctly delineated. However, the best representation of a lion occurs in the scene revealing the Buddha in his solitude in a forest⁹⁹ (Pl. 52b). The lions depicted in this scene are perfect and reveal much animation. One of the reliefs¹⁰⁰ of the *stūpa*-2 depicts a crouching lion. It is shown holding an antelope in its jaws. The ferocious attack of the lion gets impeccable portrayal. Another interesting episode of man slaying a lioness with his right hand and carrying off a cub in his left arm gets its portrayal in one of the reliefs of *stūpa*-2.¹⁰¹ Another example of the ferocious attack of a lion on the beast is shown in one of the reliefs of *stūpa*-2. A lion is shown killing an antelope. It holds the antelope upside down between his fore paws. In the same relief another attack of a lion on an elephant is realistically depicted. Lion is shown attacking an elephant, hardly as large as himself from the rear.

In early Indian art, the delineation of lion is very frequent. The sculptures of Barhut, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Goli, Mathura, depict lions in some of the *jātaka* stories.¹⁰²

(b) *Elephant*:— The elephant seems to have been a favourite subject for the Sanchi sculptor as is evident from their frequent depictions.¹⁰³ It is represented almost in every possible position such as standing, walking, running, sitting, eating, drinking and kneeling down in reverence before the holy Bodhi tree. It is also represented in full front view, half front and full side. Thus, the scene depicting “the royal personage astride on the neck of an elephant”, carved on the front of the Southern gateway¹⁰⁴ illustrates an elephant in sitting posture (Pl. 4o). The king is shown holding an *aṅkuśa*, the hook of which is kept on the elephant’s forehead. The queen who is sitting behind him brandishing the fly-whisk with her right hand and seems to be holding out her left hand to another woman to help her to climb up the back of the elephant which is busy tearing up the lotuses with its trunk. The whole scene is impeccably portrayed. The best specimens of the elephant can be seen, however, in the scene depicting

“Shaddānta jātaka” on the back of Southern gateway¹⁰⁵ (*Pl. 4b*). A herd of robust elephants of different sizes are realistically depicted. The elephant Shaddānta is correctly shown with tripple tusks and he appears in the composition in various ways such as in his bath, in company with his umbrella and fly whisk bearers etc. The elephants depicted are well executed with much spirit and considerable accuracy. The attitude of the elephant Shaddānta is well conceived and the entire scene is both natural and animated.

The scene revealing “the Vessantara jātaka”, on the back of Northern gateway¹⁰⁶ illustrates an elephant in the act of taking bath leisurely in a pond (*Pl. 24c*). Again, on front of Eastern gateway¹⁰⁷ (south end) two wild elephants are shown tearing the mango tree. One of them is virtually in full strength knocking down the tree with its lifted left fore leg while entwined the tree trunk with its promisco (*Pl. 42a*). In another instance¹⁰⁸ an elephant is shown uprooting the mango tree. It is tearing the mango tree with its trunk while its left leg is firmly planted on the tree trunk. Still, in some other instance elephants are shown in stūpa worship.¹⁰⁹ A herd of ten wild elephants, free of any mark of servitude, with lotus-flowers which they have turn up from the nearest pond and are carrying in their trunks or on their tusks, are performing the ritual worship of the stūpa.

The illustration of the elephant in early Indian art is an oft repeated theme and occurs through the centuries.¹¹⁰ The sculptures of Barhut¹¹¹, Amarāvati¹¹², Nāgārjunakoṇḍa¹¹³, Goli¹¹⁴, Mathura, Gandhāra¹¹⁵ illustrates the elephant in various contexts. The well caparisoned elephants used for the state functions and the strong and sturdy ones for war and riding are portrayed in the sculptures. Koṇḍāpur also yields terracotta elephants.¹¹⁶

(c) *Otter*:— This wild animal gets its representation only once in the reliefs. On the front gateway of stūpa-3, two otters are depicted. They are shown swimming in the water.¹¹⁷

(d) *Boar* :—The scene revealing “Vessantara jātaka” on the back of the Northern gateway¹¹⁸ (middle section) illustrates two boars drinking water in a pond (*Pls. 23,35b*). Again, the depiction of a boar

can be seen in the scene revealing *Sambodhi* on the Western gateway pillar.¹¹⁹ On one of the reliefs of *stūpa*-2, two boars are shown sniffing each other.

(e) *Camel*:— One of the false capitals on the back of Eastern gateway¹²⁰ (south end) two kneeling camels are illustrated. A man and a woman are shown riding on it. The camels are of the Bactrian type, long haired and with a double hump (*divikakudkramelaka*) (*Pl.* 37*b*). The rope is fastened, just as it is now a days, to a wooden peg fixed in the upper part of the nostrils. The two personages seem to be holding besides the rein, a switch made of twisted stuff. Again, the false capital on the back of the Eastern gateway¹²¹ (north end) illustrates two double humped camels of Bactrian variety ridden by male rider. In one of the reliefs¹²² of *stūpa*-2, two humped camels are illustrated. It is shown kneeling down with its head turned left.

(f) *Rhinoceros* :—This is represented only once in the reliefs. One of the reliefs¹²³ of *stūpa*-2 illustrates realistically a rhinoceros tete-a-tete with a lotus bud. Its bulky legs make the identification easy.

(g) *Rat*:— One of the reliefs¹²⁴ of *stūpa*-2 reveals two rats eating fruits. They are holding the fruit in their fore paws.

(h) *Squirrel*:—It is represented only once in the reliefs. A relief¹²⁵ of *stūpa*-2 depicts two squirrels riffling mangoes.

(v) *Domestic animals*

(a) *Horse*:— Next to elephants, horses are frequently depicted in the reliefs.¹²⁶ But most of the horses in the reliefs are mere stereo-typed representations, with little more characterisation than is necessary to distinguish the species and occasionally the breed. Of the breeds portrayed, two at least are clearly distinguishable namely, a light riding pony very much like the present day Arab (Marshall and Foucher, *Pls.* 28, 53), and a sturdy type of draft horse (Marshall and Foucher, *Pls.* 56, 58). These thick-set, sturdy animals call to mind some modern Flemish breed or the magnificent caparisoned horse with rider beside him at Konark.¹²⁷ A robust and sturdy horse well caparisoned gets its depiction on the back of the

Northern gateway¹²⁸ (middle section) (Pl. 24). Similarly, the false capital on the back of Northern gateway¹²⁹ (west end) depicts richly plumed and harnessed horses. The scene depicting “the *Mahābhiniṣh-kramaṇa*” on the front of the Eastern gateway¹³⁰ (middle section) represents the horse Kanṭaka. The rich trappings of the horse from the head-stall to the crupper, including the embroidered saddle are clearly visible. The best specimen of the sturdy type of draft horse can be seen on the front of Western gateway¹³¹ (north end) (Pl. 28b). The rich trappings of the horse are distinctly carved.

In Barhut sculptures¹³² the representation of horses is comparatively rare. At Amarāvati¹³³ several panels illustrating the life scenes of the Buddha and the jātaka stories depict horses. Similarly, the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Mathura and Gandhāra¹³⁴ reveal many caparisoned horses.

(b) *Bull* :—The bull is represented in the reliefs more than once¹³⁵ (Pls. 17a, 42a, 43a). The false capital on the back of the southern gateway¹³⁶ depicts two bulls couchant with one knee lifted. The head-stall is shown passing through their nostrils, crossing over their muzzles, then folded back round each horn and fixed by a turn of two, round the forehead. The rope round their shoulders, holding the end of tail forwards, is to prevent it from flicking dust into the faces of the occupants. Two noble men are shown riding over them. An excellent example of the Indian bulls couchant, again, occurs on the false capital of the Eastern gateway¹³⁷. Its characteristic hump, the lyre-shaped horns and the heavy collars are distinctly visible (Pl. 42a).

The sculptures of Barhut,¹³⁸ Amarāvati¹³⁹, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa¹⁴⁰ and Gandhāra¹⁴¹ portray the bulls resembling those depicted in the reliefs of Sanchi.

(c) *Buffaloes* :—Buffaloes are also represented more than once in the reliefs¹⁴². Thus, the scene revealing “the life in the hermitage,” on the back of the Northern gateway¹⁴³ reveals buffaloes along with other animals like antelopes, lions, elephants, etc. Again, two buffaloes (Pl. 24c) are depicted on the back of Eastern gateway¹⁴⁴. They are admirably rendered and represent real fauna of the jungle. A clear depiction of

buffaloes however, occurs on the back of the Eastern gateway¹⁴⁵ (Pl. 29b). The scene depicting the “Śyāma jātaka” on the Western gateway¹⁴⁶ also depicts buffaloes. They are shown swimming in a pond.

(d) *Dog*:— It is thrice represented in the reliefs. Thus a dog gets its depiction on the back of the Southern gateway¹⁴⁷. A dwarf is shown carrying a pitcher of water in his right hand and with his left leading on the leash a dog with tail erect. The scene revealing “the merchant Trapusha and Bhallika passing through Uruvilva”¹⁴⁸ depicts a dog (Pl. 44c). Again, in one of the reliefs of *stūpa-2*¹⁴⁹ a dog is shown chasing an antelope.

(e) *Cow*:— The hermitage scene depicted on the south pillar of the Eastern gateway depicts cow (Pl. 19a). Besides, there is a realistic representation of a cow suckling her calf on one of the reliefs¹⁵⁰ of *stūpa-2*.

(f) *Goat*:— An excellent depiction of a he-goat can be seen on an inscribed balustrade pillar¹⁵¹. Again, the depiction of the goats with riders occur on the back of the Eastern gateway¹⁵² (Pl. 30a). The Uruvilva village scene depicted on the south pillar of Eastern gateway¹⁵³ also illustrates a goat (Pl. 18).

(vi) *Jumping creatures*

Under this category, animals like stag, deer, antelope and monkey represented in the reliefs are included.

(a) *Stag*:— Two stags couchant are depicted on the front of Southern gateway¹⁵⁴ (west end). A king is shown riding over it. The scene depicting “the Vesantara jātaka” on the back of Northern gateway¹⁵⁵ (middle section) depicts stag, in the vicinity of the hermitage (Pl. 40). The stags appear sometimes isolated¹⁵⁶ or scratching their muzzles with their hind-feet¹⁵⁷ or face to face¹⁵⁸ or back to back¹⁵⁹ etc.

(b) *Spotted deer*:— The scene depicting “the First sermon”¹⁶⁰ in the Deer Park illustrates eight deers. The presence of these eight deers makes it certain that the place of scene is the Mṛgadava, near Benaras

(Pl. 9a). Again, one of the reliefs¹⁶¹ of *stūpa*-2 depicts the scene of “the First sermon,” in which six deers are illustrated. Six deers, grouped in three on each side of plantain trees stress the locale of the *Mṛgavana*.

The sculptures of Barhut,¹⁶² Amarāvati,¹⁶³ Nāgarjunakoṇḍa,¹⁶⁴ Goli,¹⁶⁵ Gandhāra¹⁶⁶ and the paintings of Ajanta¹⁶⁷ depict comparable examples of the deer.

(c) *Antelope*:—The scene¹⁶⁸ depicting the former birth of the Buddha’s antelope-horn” (Riṣhya-Śṛiṅga) illustrates antelopes. Again, the hunting scene¹⁶⁹ depicted on the front of Northern gateway (east end), illustrates a man carrying two haunches of antelope balanced on his shoulder at the ends of a stick (Pl. 17a). The best specimen of the antelope can be seen carved on the back of Eastern gateway¹⁷⁰ (Pl. 52b).

(d) *Monkey*:—The monkey was apparently a favourite subject for an early Indian artist, particularly when he depicted Buddhist sculptures. The monkey is represented more than once in the Sanchi reliefs. Thus, in the scene revealing “the monkey’s offering at Vaiśālī” on the Northern gateway pillar,¹⁷¹ two monkeys are depicted. As one monkey is holding a deep bowl, the other one is shown carrying a tray (Pl. 25b). In the village scene of Uruvilva depicted on south pillar of Eastern gateway¹⁷² three monkeys are shown frisking or marauding at the top of a mango tree. The scene¹⁷³ illustrating “Mahākapi jātaka” reveals three monkeys and one of them is actually hanging by holding the *aśvattha* tree with its hands. In all the cases the long and heavy tail of the monkey is realistically depicted. This could have acted as a counterpoise to the rest of the body in jumping and probably also as a steering organ while jumping from tree to tree.

The sculptures of Barhut,¹⁷⁴ Goli,¹⁷⁵ Nāgarjunakoṇḍa¹⁷⁶ illustrate the monkeys at several places.

(vii) *Flying creatures*

Flying is a mode of locomotion which can be seen in all varieties of birds. In flying animals, there are bodily extensions (wings) which not only act as supports, but as organs for driving the animals through the air. These adaptations for flight enable their possessors to

fly for long periods and to perform the varied movements in the air. In the Sanchi reliefs this category is represented by birds like peacock, eagle, parrot, crow, crane, pea-hen and cock.

(a) *Peacock*:— An excellent depiction of a peacock can be seen carved on the Southern gateway¹⁷⁷. On a rocky landscape a profile of a peacock is neatly carved. Similar representation of peacocks we get again on the back of the Northern gateway¹⁷⁸. In one of the reliefs¹⁷⁹ of *stūpa*-2, a peacock with its tail displayed between the pea-hens is illustrated.

The peacock appears in the early sculptures abundantly. Thus, the sculptures at Barhut,¹⁸⁰ Amarāvati,¹⁸¹ Nāgārjunakoṇḍa¹⁸² and Gandhāra¹⁸³ reveal peacocks.

(b) *Eagle*:— A realistic depiction of eagle (*Garuḍa*) occurs on one of the reliefs¹⁸⁴ of *stūpa*-2. An eagle is shown holding in his beak and under his talons the neck and body of a serpent which is coiling round him.

(c) *Parrot*:— A fragment of the pillar of southern gateway¹⁸⁵ depicts clearly two parrots. In another instance¹⁸⁶ parrot is shown riffling mangoes. Parallel examples occur in Suñga,¹⁸⁷ Ikṣhvāku,¹⁸⁸ Mathura,¹⁸⁹ Gandhāra¹⁹⁰ art.

(d) *Crow*:— It is represented only once in the reliefs. One of the reliefs¹⁹¹ of *stūpa*-2 depicts crows amidst creeper design.

(e) *Crane*:— One of the reliefs¹⁹² of *stūpa*-2 depicts cranes clearly.

(f) *Pea-hen*:— One of the reliefs¹⁹³ of *stūpa*-2, two pea-hens are depicted.

(g) *Cock*:— One of the reliefs¹⁹⁴ of *stūpa*-2 depicts a cock.

As seen above, the fauna known to the Sātavāhana period is abundant. The carnivorous animals like lion, otter, rhinoceros etc., and herbivorous animals like horse, deer etc., were all known to them. The people domesticated animals like horses, goats, cows, bulls etc. The dogs were used for house guarding and hunting purposes. The elephants were used for both state and ordinary occasions.

In the sculpture, the treatment of this subject is very successful. The Sanchi sculptor was amazingly successful in portraying the animal kingdom in the reliefs. The animals illustrated are well conceived and animated and the anatomy of their body is perfectly betrayed and the unaffected naturalism is maintained throughout. The elephants in the reliefs are more successfully treated. Similar is the case with horses and bulls. The deer and buffaloes are portrayed with much fidelity and feeling. The bull gets its depiction with much simplicity and directness. They are typical of the traditional spirit of Malwa art. The camels portrayed at Sanchi are of two humped bactrian species. Amazingly, the sculptor was successful in carving the peculiar bend of the hind legs of this animal when it is sitting. Two types of horse breed can be seen in the reliefs viz., a light riding pony like the present day Arab and the sturdy type of draft horse resembling the modern Flemish breed. But the most spirited of all the animals are the monkeys. Their attitudes have been impeccably illustrated in the relief by the Sanchi artists.

However, it is noticeable that a majority of fauna represented in the reliefs is identical with the present day fauna in Madhya Pradesh. However, among the wild animals depicted in the reliefs, the lion and the elephant are rather sparse and almost absent at present. The fauna in the surrounding environment coupled with the requirements of the texts of the jāta stories like Shadḍanta possibly inspired the sculptor to carve them on stone.

(viii) *Mythical animals*

The mythical animals (*Ihāmṛgās*)¹⁹⁵ represented in the Sanchi reliefs are varied and include winged lions, beaked lions, horned lions, *kiṇṇaras*, *kiṇṇaris*, winged deer, horned doe, mountain goat or ram with human face, winged horse, winged elephant, bull with human face and ram horns, centaurs, *makara* with stag fore-quarters and fish tail, *makara* with lion fore-quarters and fish tail, man-faced horse, stag with elephant head, horse-faced man, sea-bull with fish tail and mermaid. These *ihāmṛgās*¹⁹⁶ can be classified into (a) aerial or atmos-

pheric, (*Vyomacārin*) (b) terrestrial (*bhūcārin*) and aquatic (*jalacārin*) types by presence of certain limbs.

(a) *Aerial or atmospheric (vyomacārin)* :—Under this category fall (1) winged lion (2) winged and horned lion (3) griffin, (4) winged stag, (5) winged antelope, (6) winged horse (7) winged elephant, (8) *kiñnaras*.

(1) *Winged lion*:—The winged lions (*Sapakṣa-simhāh*) occur in the reliefs frequently.¹⁹⁷ Thus, there are winged lions, sometimes shown front-face¹⁹⁸, sometimes shown in profile and back to back in pairs¹⁹⁹ (Pl. 48). However, a clear depiction of a winged lion occurs on the back of the Western gateway (north end)²⁰⁰ (Pl. 48). Another clear example of a winged lion is met with on the back of the Western gateway (south end)²⁰¹ (Pl. 39a). These winged lions are generally shown in the reliefs on the capital of pillars in an elevated position to suggest their habitat in aerial regions.

In Indian literature, earliest reference to the winged lion (*simāh pakṣagamāh*) we get in Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa²⁰². The reference places them on the Somagiri mountain, on the junction of the Indus with the sea (*Sindhu-sāgara saṅgama*) which marks the end of western direction²⁰³. Probably, the author was writing against the background of the traditional art-motifs of Iran and Mesopotamia where such lions were depicted in colossal size and of which stories were brought by mariners and traders. The heritage of Sanchi specimens can be seen in winged lion motif in gold used on the hem of garments (*Hamadan*),²⁰⁴ the fabulous lion designs on sheaths of sword (bas-relief, Persepolis)²⁰⁵, the buckle with the busts of winged lion²⁰⁶ etc. Parallel examples of such winged lions are available in Indian art. The sculpture of Amarāvati,²⁰⁷ Barhut,²⁰⁸ Nāgārjunakoṇḍa²⁰⁹ and Mathura²¹⁰ depict winged lions comparable to the Sanchi specimens.

(2) *Winged and horned lion*:—This type of mythical animals occur more than once in the reliefs. The back of the Western gateway (south end) depicts clearly two winged and horned lions sitting back to back with their riders²¹¹ (Pl. 39b). Again, another clear instance of winged and horned lion is met with on the back of the Eastern gateway²¹² (south end) (Pl. 47a).

These winged, horned and bridled lions with their riders are ferocious as compared to the horned lions of Amarāvati and Nāgarjunakoṇḍa.

(3) *Griffins*:—The Griffin with lion's body, eagle's or parrot's beak and with wings of an eagle appear in the relief more than once²¹³. Clear example of Griffins, two sitting back to back while the one in the front appears on the Western gateway²¹⁴ (Pl. 28a). Some of the reliefs of the ground balustrade of *stūpa*-2 also depict Griffins. In Indian context they may probably, represent *Syena* or *Garūḍa* or *Śukha vyāla*.²¹⁵ An excellent carving of a Griffin comparable to Sanchi specimen can be seen on a capital from the Hellenistic temple of Apollo of Didyma at Miletus.²¹⁶

The griffins lived in the far north of the world as the neighbours of the Hyperboreans. They guarded a treasure of gold which the one-eyed Arimaspians, their neighbours to the south, perpetually tried to steal. Griffins because of their association with the Hyperboreans, among whom Appollo spent a part of the year, was sacred to Apollo. In late antiquity, when Apollo was identified with Helius, the Sun, Griffins were said to be the sacred animals of Helius and drew his chariot across the sky. According to some other version, the home of Griffin was the north of India where they dug up gold dust from the desert. The natives tried to steal this from them but had to be cautious as the Griffins were terribly fierce. They, therefore, distributed food for the Griffins and removed the gold dust while the Griffins ate the food.²¹⁷

(4) *Winged stag*:—They appear in the reliefs more than once.²¹⁸ A clear depiction of two winged stag sitting back to back occurs on the front of the northern gateway²¹⁹. The sharp pointed horns and erected wings are quite impressive. These winged stags may probably represent *Harinavyāla*.²²⁰

(5) *Winged antelope*:—There is a solitary representation of winged antelopes on the back of the Northern gateway (west end). This may also represent *Harinavyāla*.

(6) *Winged horse*:—This type of mythical animal appears on one of the reliefs of the ground balustrade of *stūpa-2*.²²¹

In Hindu mythology, the celestial horse *Uccaisravās* is the forerunner of this winged animal. In the Valahassa jātaka a flying horse is mentioned. The Buddhist conception of a *Cakravartin* is that he is surrounded by seven jewels, one of which is a horse of the *Valaha* class²²². In this jātaka, the horse flies in the sky like the horse of *yakṣa* Punnaka in the *Vidura Pandita* jātaka.²²³ Probably, these flying horses of the stories have inspired the sculptors to carve them with wings in sculpture.

In the Greek mythology, there is a reference to the winged stud of the Fountain named Pegasus²²⁴. On the coins of Corinth the most common type from the earliest times is the winged Pegasus. Interestingly, the silver coin of the 4th century B.C. from the Corinth reveals the winged stud Pegasus²²⁵.

(7) *Flying elephant*:—One of the reliefs on the ground balustrade of *stūpa-2* illustrates a flying elephant representing the miracle of conception.²²⁶ Although the wings of the elephant are not portrayed, they can be easily understood. Moreover, the portrayal of winged elephant is not unknown to the Indian sculptors. Such winged elephant gets its depiction in Amarāvati sculptures.

In Hindu mythology, Airāvata of Indra which is same as Airāvata of the Buddhists is supposed to move high in heaven and this seems to have given the idea to the sculptor of the elephant flying with wings. The elephant Ratna associated with a *Cakravarti* is of the *uposatana* class. In the Kalinga Bodi jātaka, the prince travels in the sky riding on an elephant. The Vessantara jātaka describes the rain giving elephant as born to a celestial elephant that could fly. Flying goes with the birds and so wing-like pinions were added to the terrestrial animal to suggest their power of flight. The *Mātāṅgalīlā*,²²⁷ a treatise on elephantology now preserved in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal manuscript library shows figures of elephants with wings.

(8) *Kiñnaras*:—The kiñnaras appear invariably in the Sanchi reliefs.²²⁸ Frequently, two *kiñnaras* holding garlands appear in the

reliefs, flanking the *stūpa*. They are shown holding the garlands in adoration to the *stūpa*.²²⁹ Similarly, *kiñnaras* are also seen flanking the *stūpa* but in this case they hold in left hand, a tray evidently, containing flowers and a garland in the right hand. They also appear in front of *bodhi-drum*. Here also, they are portrayed as holding garlands in veneration to the Bodhi-drum.²³⁰ There is a solitary representation of *kiñnaras* who are shown in the act of adoration to *Dharmacakra*. They flank the *Dharmacakra* with garlands in their hands²³¹ (Pl. 49).

In Hindu mythology the *kiñnara* is described as half-man and half-horse and half-bird. The Vishṇudharmottara²³² describes *kiñnara* as half-man and half-horse. But the correct nature of the *kiñnara* as the Buddhists understood is half-man and half-bird. According to the *jātakas*, *kiñnaras* are fairies and are shown as going in pairs, noted for mutual love and devotion. In the *Chanda Kiñnāra Jātaka*²³³ the devotion of the *kiñnari* to her wounded *kiñnara* husband, brings Indra on the scene to cure him from the wound. The *kiñnaras* are noted for their long life.

The *jātakas* describe the *kiñnaras* as innocent and harmless like birds. Such harmless creatures are described in *jātaka* No. 481 as being caught, put into cages and thus presented to the kings for their delight. The *kiñnaras* can sing, play the flute and dance with the soft movements of the body. Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasambhava*²³⁴ describes them as dwelling in the Himālayas. They (*kiñnaras*) lived also over the hills of Paṇḍaraka, Trikūtaka, Mallagiri, Candapabbata and Gandhamandana (*jātaka*, No. 485).

Such harmless lovely and kind creatures of the Buddhist literature are different from the horse-faced and centaur like *kiñnaras* of Hindu mythology. However, both Buddhist and Hindu literature attribute musical talents to the *kiñnaras*. Again, that they always roam as gay, love-couples is the picture that is common to both Buddhist and Hindu literature.

In art, this combination of human and animal shapes is characteristic of hybrid creatures in which we find the same mixture of classical influence and oriental fantasy. As early as in the Assyrian

art²³⁵ two winged human figures with tails and with legs and feet of a bird akin to the Buddhist *kiñnaras* are shown standing before the sacred tree. Again, Zu, an Assyrian storm-god, in the form half-man and half-bird on the cylindrical seal (Akkadian 2340-2180 B.C.)²³⁶ is a classical example for acknowledging the distant heritage of the *kiñnara* from Assyria. Similarly, for *kiñnari* one can see her forerunner in the Assyrian winged war-goddess Ishtar.²³⁷ In the Greek mythology sirens and harpies reveal the physiognomy akin to the *kiñnaris*. The sirens were represented as great birds with heads of women, with legs of birds and with or without wings. The National Museum at Athens contains several examples of stone sirens as separate figures in the round.²³⁸ The harpies are represented as half-birds, half-maidens and as spirits of mischief.²³⁹ A harpy carved on the sarcophagus of the 5th cent. B.C. is a fine example of the Greek art²⁴⁰.

(b) *Terrestrial (Bhūcārīn)*:— The horned lions, with human and bearded face, doe with horn, mountain goat or ram with human face, bull with human face and ram bull horns, man-faced horse, horse-faced man or woman and stag with elephant head, fall under this category. The lack of wings confines them to land.

(1) *Horned lion*:—There is a realistic representation of a horned lion on the back of the Eastern gateway²⁴¹. Again, the horned lions occur on one of the pillars of the Western gateway²⁴². They are shown adressed and bridled with their riders. They are seen ferocious (*Pl. 26*) as opposed to those of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa horned lions. The horned lions of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are meek imbibing the gentle spirit of the deer having its horns. One of the horned lions at Amarāvati is even shown eating grass which a dwarf is spreading before it.²⁴³

The Sanchi specimen possibly represent *meśhvyaḷa*.²⁴⁴ These *śuka*, *garuḍa*, or *śyena*, *hariṇa* and *meśha* *vyālas* of Sanchi may be the incipient examples of the elaborate *vyālas* of the later period.

(2) *Lion with human face and beard*:—This type of man-faced lion with a long beard and twisted tapering hair occurs on one of the

reliefs on ground balustrade of *stūpa*-2. It resembles the Egyptian sphinx. The Egyptian sphinx was a monster borrowed from Egyptian religion and symbolism, originally represented with the body of a winged lion and the breast and head of a maiden and subsequently in still more wonderful forms (as a maiden with the breast), face and claws of a lion, the tail of a serpent and the wings of a bird or as a lion in front and human being behind with vulture's claws and eagle's wings.²⁴⁵ The Greek sphinx unlike the Egyptian was a creature to be feared.²⁴⁶ The Persian sphinx was human-faced with crown and also winged and bearded. The two crowned sphinxes that appear on the glazed brick relief from the central court of the Susa palace (404-358 B.C.) are the classical examples of the Persian art.²⁴⁷

(3) *Doe with horns*:—This appears on the front of the Northern gateway (west end)²⁴⁸. A dove is shown with horns. It is seen lying at the feet of the brahman anchorite, with raised head.

(4) *Man with unicorn*:—In one of the scenes representing the former birth of the Buddha as antelope-horn (*Riṣhya-śrīṅga*) on the front of the Northern gateway²⁴⁹ (west end) is depicted a man with a single horn (*Ekaśrīṅga*). In the scene, the new born with a horn is shown devoutly taking his first bath in the lotus pond. To the left of the hut, in the scene, the child again appears, his hands still clasped and introduces himself to his father, who receives him with some legitimate surprise for besides the unexpectedness of his birth, he has the oddity of a horn on the brow, inherited from his mother.

(5) *Mountain goat or ram with human face*:—They appear in the scene representing the Indra's visit on the Northern gateway pillar²⁵⁰ (Pl. 47a). They are shown in a cleft in the rock. The urbane²⁵¹ face and the horns are distinct.

(6) *Bull with human-face and ram horn*:— Two bulls with manes, human faces and the horns of a ram occur on the back of the Eastern gateway²⁵² (Pl. 52b). The conception of depicting such *ihāmrgas* could have come to Sanchi from Assyria (*via*) Persia. Interestingly, a relief from Kharchemish (1050-850 B.C.) depict two bull-men flanked by two lion-men.²⁵³

(7) *Centaurs* :—On one of the reliefs of the stupa, is depicted a men-centaur with a woman rider.²⁵⁴ Elsewhere, we also get a she-centaur with a man rider.²⁵⁵ These centaurs²⁵⁶ evidently suggested by the creations of Assyria, has survived in Persian imagery to serve as a mount for Mohmmad ascending to the skies. In Indian art, the parallel of the Sanchi man-centaur we get at Mathura.²⁵⁷

(8) *Horse faced woman*:—There is a solitary representation of a horse faced woman on one of the reliefs of *stūpa-2*.²⁵⁸ A horse faced or headed woman or fairy is portrayed with her son whom she carries on her hips. This type of mythical animal appears to be a Greek conception. Its type became acclimatised to India whence it even passed to Combodia. In Indian mythology *Aśvagrīva* and *Hayagrīva* have been conceived as horse-headed demons.²⁵⁹

(9) *Stag with elephant head*:—This is only once represented on one of the reliefs of *stūpa-2*.²⁶⁰

(10) *Stag with lion's body*:—This also occurs only once in the whole of the Sanchi reliefs. A clear depiction of a stag with lion's body occurs on one of the pillars of the Western gateway²⁶¹.

(c) *Aquatic (Jalacārin)*:— The mythical animals like *makara* with elephant's forequarters and fish-tail, *makara* with stag's forequarters and fish-tail, *makara* with lion's forequarters and fish-tail, sea-bull or marine-bull with fish-tail, stag with fish-tail, winged monster with the head and fore-paws of a lion and fish-tail and mermaid fall under this category.

(1) *Makara with elephants forequarters and fish-tail behind*:—Two reliefs on the ground balustrade of *stūpa-2* depicted *makara* with elephant's forequarters and fish-tail behind.²⁶² Exactly, similar mythical animal in bronze is reported to have been recovered in the recent excavations at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa²⁶³. They may be identified as *Gajavaktrajhashas* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.²⁶⁴ Kālidāsa²⁶⁵ calls it *Mataṅganakra*. Coomaraswamy²⁶⁶ points to the similarity of the *gajavaktrajhashas* with the *jalebha*. Grunwedel²⁶⁷ calls this animal as sea-elephant and defines it as "a creature formed of the fore-parts of an elephant with the body and tail of a fish". It is a common practice

to compare crocodiles and fishes in a flowing river to elephants and horses in ordinary ground (*Rāmāyaṇa*; *Yuddha*, 94. 11). The *Diggajas* which guard the quarters, reside in *pātāla*, which is a water region. As fish symbolises water, the elephant with the fish-tail was probably the design that appealed to the sculptor most, when preparing this type *gajavaktrajhasha*. At Amarāvati, an exact parallel is met with.

(2) *Makara with stag's forequarters and fish-tail behind*:—This is only once represented in the Sanchi reliefs. one of the reliefs on the ground balustrade of *stūpa-2* reveals this mythical animal.²⁶⁸

(3) *Makara with lion's forequarters and fish-tail behind*:—This also occurs only once in the reliefs. A relief on the ground balustrade of *stūpa-2*²⁶⁹ illustrates this mythical animal.

(4) *Sea-bull or marine bull with fish tail*:—It is depicted on one of the reliefs on ground balustrade of *stūpa-2*.²⁷⁰ A small cupid-like genie is shown as its rider.

(5) *Stag with fish tail*:—This is portrayed only once in the Sanchi reliefs.²⁷¹ According to Foucher this mythical animal is the well-known form of a chaldean god.²⁷²

(6) *Winged monster with the head and fore paws of a lion and the tail of a fish or dragon*:—One of the reliefs²⁷³ of Sanchi depicts a barge whose prow is formed by a winged monster and stern by a fish's tail. The barge is shown floating on water. This Sanchi barge interestingly resembles the sacred Egyptian barges.²⁷⁴

(7) *Half-maiden and half-snake*:—One of the pilasters at Sanchi reveals this type of figures. They are shown with serpent hoods and fish tails and with hands clasped in prayer.²⁷⁵ Probably, the sculptor had in his mind the Green *Echidna*,²⁷⁶ while portraying this half-maiden with serpent hoods and fish-tail. *Echidna* was a she-monster of the Greeks, half-maiden and half-snake and daughter of Chrysa or and Callirrhoe. Her home was the country of the Arimi in Cilicia, where she brought forth to Typhoeus a number of monsters, cerberus, chimaera, sphinx, etc.²⁷⁷

REFERENCES

1. Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15, 22, 26, 28, 31, 40, 46, 48, 55, 61 (Vol. II).
2. The Bodhi druma of the seven *Mānushi Buddhas* are pātali (bigonia *Suaveolens*) of Vipāśyin, Puṇḍarika of Śikhin, Sāla (*Shorea robusta*) of Visvabhu, Sirisa (*Acacia sirissa*) of Krakucchanda, Udumbara (*Ficus glomerata*) of Kanakamuni, Nyagrodha (*Ficus indica*) of Kaśyapa, and Aśvattha (*Ficus religiosa*) of Gautama. There is also Nāgapushpa.
3. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI, C2 (Vol. II).
4. *Ibid.*, pl. XL, 3, (Vol. II).
5. *Ibid.*, pl. LXV, b 1 (Vol. II).
6. J., 1. 16; Vin; IV. 35; Digh. II 4; *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, II, 416.
7. B. C. Law, *Indological Studies*, Part II (Calcutta, 1952), p. 362.
8. Digh., II. 4; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 202; cf. *Buddhavaṃśa*, ch., XXVI.
9. Sir, George Watt, *The Commercial products of India, Being an abridgement of "The Dictionary of the Economic Products of India"*, (London, 1908), p. 538.
10. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15, 19, 22, 29, 33, 46, 49, 50, 55, 58, 64, 65 (Vol. II).
11. *Ibid.*, 55, 3; 58.2.
12. *Ibid.*, 46. 1; 49.c.
13. *Ibid.*, 35. 2; 29. 1; 33.1.
14. *Ibid.*, 29.1.
15. *Ibid.*, 33.1.
16. *Ibid.*, 35.a2.
17. Watt., *op. cit.*, p. 536.
- ✓ 18. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 31, 32, 34, 46, 50, 51, 52, 56, 58, 63, 65, 68, (Volume II) 96, 101 & 103 (Volume III).
19. *Ibid.*, 56, 2 & 3 (Vol. II).
20. *Ibid.*, 39. a2 (Vol. II).
21. *Ibid.*, 51b (Vol. II).
22. *Ibid.*, 52.a2 (Vol. II).
23. *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, II, 415; cf. *Milinda*, p. 333; *jātaka*, IV, 289.
24. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 22.2 (Vol. II).
25. *Jātaka*, IV. 97.
26. Watt., *op. cit.*, p. 990.
27. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 23, 27, 28, 31, 32, 23, 34, 41 to 43, 44, 48 to 52, 56, 62, 64 to 66 (Vol. II), 103 of Vol. III.
28. *Ibid.*, 44.4 (Vol. II).
29. *Ibid.*, 40.2 (Vol. II).
30. *Ibid.*, 33.1 (Vol. II).
31. *Digha*, I. 46, 53; *Puggalapaññatti*, 45; *Milinda*, 46; *Palāvatthu commentary*, 153, 187; *Dhammapada commentary*, III, 207; *Vimānavatthu commentary*, 198.

32. Law, *op. cit.*, pl. II, p. 368.
33. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 11, 34, 43, 51, 56, 63 (Col. II).
34. *Ibid.*, 51. d (Vol. II).
35. *Ibid.*, 56.1 (Vol. II).
36. *Ibid.*, 63.2 (Vol. II).
37. *Ibid.*, 56.1, (Vol. II).
38. *J.*, V. 420; VI. 269; *Miln.* 338, *D.A.*, I. 280; *Visuddhem*, 515; *Dha.*, 1.384; *VvA.*, 194; *Buddhavarṇsa*, II. 51.
39. *Papañcasūdanī*, II, 1.
40. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 15, 22, 46, 55, (Vol. II).
41. *Ibid.*, 15. 1 (Vol. II).
42. *Ibid.*, 22.2 (Vol. II).
43. *Ibid.*, 55.3 (Vol. II).
44. *Ibid.*, 46.1 (Vol. II).
45. *Ibid.*, 15, 22, 29, 35, 51, 55 (Vol. II); 91 (Vol. III).
46. *Ibid.*, 58.1 (Vol. II).
47. *Ibid.*, 22.2 (Vol. II).
48. *Ibid.*, 15.1 (Vol. II).
49. *Digh.*, II. 3; IV. 35; *Ang.*, IV, 283; *Suttanipāta*, 45; *Dhammapada commentary* I, 284; *Khuddakapāṭha commentary*, 46, 56; *Vimāna-vatthu-aṭṭhakathā*. p. 213; *Suttanipāta commentary*, 19.
50. Law, *op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 400.
51. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 16, 29, 50, 52, 63 (Vol. II).
52. *Ibid.*, 29.3d (Vol. II).
53. *Ibid.*, 50a.1 (Vol. II).
54. *Ibid.*, 52a.2 (Vol. II).
55. *Ibid.*, 29, 48 (Vol. II); 85 (Vol. III).
56. *Ibid.*, 48.2 (Vol. II).
- ✓ 57. *Ibid.*, 29, 48 (Vol. II), 85 (Vol. II).
- ✓ 58. *Ibid.*, 63.2 (Vol. II).
- ✓ 59. *Ibid.*, 55.3 (Vol. II).
- ✓ 60. *Ibid.*, 52.a2 (Vol. II).
61. *Ibid.*, 55.3 (Vol. II).
62. *J.*, I, 450; II, 160; V. 465; *Vv.*, 44; *KhA.*, 50; *SnA.*, 475.
63. *J.*, V. 38.
64. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 23, 29, 30, 51, 52, 56, 58, 63, 65 (Vol. II), 101 (Vol. II).
65. *Ibid.*, 19, 27, 34, etc. (Vol. II).
- ✓ 66. *Ibid.*, 18, 32, 37 (Vol. II); 82 (Vol. III).
67. *Ibid.*, 91, 88b (Vol. III).
68. *Ibid.*, 10, 19c, 23b, 23, 50.

69. J., I, 79, 96; IV. 226; V. 37; I. 222; V. 337; IV. 341; Sam., I, 138, 204.
70. Watters on *Yuanchwang*, II, 177.
71. The term *ihāmṛga* was generally used from ancient times for fabulous animals (*Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, *Sundara* 9.13, 18.8) but from the Gupta period onwards the term *vyāla* came into frequent use. The *vyālas* such as *Simhavyāla*, *Sārdūlavvyāla*, *Mārjāravvyāla*, *Vṛkavyāla*, *Svānavvyāla*, *Gajavyāla*, *Meṣavyāla*, *Aśvavyāla*, *Sarpavyāla*, *Kharavyāla* etc. (M.A. Dhaky, *The vyāla figures on the Medieaval temples of India*, Varanasi, 1965) p. 7.
72. This classification is after E.M. Rich "*Guide to the collections in the Horniman Museum and Library*, (London Country Council), p. 92.
73. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, pl. 19c.1 (Vol. II).
74. *Ibid.*, 52, a2 (Vol. II).
75. *Ibid.*, 11 (Vol. II).
76. *Ibid.*, 46, 2 (Vol. II).
77. Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXI-c.
78. See for depictions in Amarāvati sculptures, Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli sculptures), p. 333 wherein references to Amarāvati sculptures of third and fourth periods are given.
79. Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII-b; XXX-c, and XXXVIII-v.
80. Ramachandran, (Goli sculptures), *op. cit.*, pl. XII.
81. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 64. a1 (Vol. II).
82. *Ibid.*, 64.a1.
83. *Ibid.*, pl. XCVI, 3, (Vol. III).
84. *Ibid.*, pl. 35, b (Vol. II).
85. *Ibid.*, pl. 34b (Vol. II).
86. A pair of fish of terracotta (bearing No. 66) is on display in Koṇḍāpur Museum.
87. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, LI, b.
88. *Ibid.*, XI, XXIX, XXXI, LI, LXIII, LXXV, LXXXII, LXXXIII, LXXXIV, LXXXVII, LXXXIX, XC, XCIII, XCVII.
89. *Ibid.*, XI, I.
90. *Ibid.*, XXIX. 3.
91. *Ibid.*, LI, b.
92. *Ibid.*, XC, 86a.
93. *Ibid.*, XCVI, 3.
94. *Ibid.*, XCVII, 3.
95. Nearly all walking animals may on one occasion use their limbs for running and hence the animals whose adaptation is for walking or running are dealt with together.
96. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 17, 19, 15, 17, 19, 20, 24, 32, 43, 46, 48, 65 (Vol. II); 74, 75, 8a; 76, 14b; 78, 24b (Vol. III).

97. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 25.1 (Vol. II).
98. *Ibid.*, 27.1 (Vol. II).
99. *Ibid.*, pl. 46, 2 (Vol. II).
100. *Ibid.*, pl. 75, 8a (Vol. III).
101. *Ibid.*, pl. LXXVI, 14b (Vol. III).
102. Krishna Murthy, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa—A Cultural Study* (Delhi, 1977), p. 243.
103. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20 to 24, 27 to 32, 40 to 44, 47 to 48, 50, 52, 55 to 57, 59, 61 to 62, 66, (Vol. II); 74 to 77, 81 to 82, 85, 105 (Vol. III).
104. *Ibid.*, XII, 2 (Vol. II).
105. *Ibid.*, XV, 2.
106. *Ibid.*, 29.3 (Vol. II).
107. *Ibid.*, XLI, 2 (Vol. II).
108. *Ibid.*, XLIII, (Bottom lintel) (Vol. II).
109. *Ibid.*, XLVI, 3 (Vol. II).
110. Helene McCraig, Elephant in Indian Art, *Times of India, Annual*.
111. Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. XX, 16; XXVI-35: LXIX-83; LXXVI-101, LXXIX-107; LXXXII-117; LXXXIV-124; LXXXVI-127; LXXXVII-128; XCIII-141; XCIII-141c; XCI-142; XCVI-148; 148a; XCVII-148c.
112. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, fig. 1.
113. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*
114. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli sculptures), pls. I-c-1; III, 11-1; IV-a-2; VII-A-2; XI-9.
115. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 1,6; Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 4, fig. 6, pl. 9, fig. 11.
116. A terracotta elephant (bearing No. 67) occurs from Koṇḍapur.
117. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 97,3 (Vol. III).
118. *Ibid.*, 61, 65, (Vol. II).
119. *Ibid.*, 90, 86a (Vol. III).
120. *Ibid.*, XLVII, 5 (Vol. II).
121. *Ibid.*, 48.5 (Vol. II).
122. *Ibid.*, 84, 54a (Vol. III).
123. *Ibid.*, 78,24a (Vol. III).
124. *Ibid.*, 78,24b (Vol. III).
125. *Ibid.*, 79, 25a (Vol. III).
126. *Ibid.*, 11 to 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22,29, 31, 35, 40, 50, 51, 56, 61, 65, (Vol. II) 86, 98 (Vol. III).
127. E.B. Havell, *Indian sculpture and paintings*, pl. XLIII.
128. *Ibid.*, 29 (Vol. II).
129. *Ibid.*, 31,2 (Vol. II).
130. *Ibid.*, No. 2 (Vol. II).
131. *Ibid.*, 56, 2 (Vol. II).

132. Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI-21, 24; XC-134.
133. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIII-4c.
134. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 4, fig. 6; pl. 72, fig. 104; pl. 84; fig. 119.
135. *Ibid.*, 16, 17, 19, 25, 27, 41, 43, (Vol. II); 81, 85, 86 (Vol. II).
136. *Ibid.*, 16.6 (Vol. II).
137. *Ibid.*, 41.4 (Vol. II).
138. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, XXXIV, fig. 1; XVII, fig. 10.
139. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, fig. 5.
140. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
141. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 36, 53, 16.4b, XXIX-2.
142. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 29, 46, 47, 48, 52, 65 (Vol. II).
143. *Ibid.*, 29.3a (Vol. II).
144. *Ibid.*, 46.2 (Vol. II).
145. *Ibid.*, 48.2 (Vol. II).
146. *Ibid.*, 65.a1 (Vol. II).
147. *Ibid.*, 16.3 (Vol. III).
148. *Ibid.*, 19.c3 (Vol. II); Also see LXXIX, 27b.
149. *Ibid.*, 82, 44a (Vol. III).
150. *Ibid.*, 76, 11b (Vol. III).
151. *Ibid.*, 104.c (Vol. III).
152. *Ibid.*, 48.3 (Vol. II).
153. *Ibid.*, 52.a1 (Vol. II).
154. *Ibid.*, 79, 25a (Vol. III).
155. *Ibid.*, 12, 6 (Vol. II).
156. *Ibid.*, 1c, 14b (Vol. II).
157. *Ibid.*, 8c, 4 (Vol. II).
158. *Ibid.*, 8a, 6 (Vol. II).
159. *Ibid.*, 31b, 40b; cf. 5a, 44b and 49a, 66b (Vol. II).
160. *Ibid.*, 18.a1 (Vol. II).
161. *Ibid.*, 103e (Vol. III).
162. Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. LXX-89.
163. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IV. 3.
164. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 247.
165. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli) pl. V-2d; VI-f.
166. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 129.
167. Ajanta, pl. XVIII (Lalitakala Akademi, New Delhi).
168. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 27.1 (Vol. II).
169. *Ibid.*, 25.1 (Vol. II).
170. *Ibid.*, 46.2 (Vol. II).
171. *Ibid.*, XXXVI, c2.
172. *Ibid.*, LII, a2.

173. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, LXIV, a1.
174. Barua, *op. cit.*, pls. XXVIII-24; LXXXIII-122; LXXIII-95; LXXIX-105; LXXXVI-127; XCVI-148, 148a; XCVII-148c.
175. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli sculptures), V-2c; VI-F.
176. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
177. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, XIII, 3.
178. *Ibid.*, XXXII, 2.
179. *Ibid.*, LXXVI, 10b.
180. Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI-91; LXXII-93.
181. Burgess, *op. cit.*, XV. 2.
182. Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XLVII-b.
183. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 9, fig. 11; Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 460.
184. *Ibid.*, XLII, 38b.
185. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, IX. b.
186. *Ibid.*, LXXXII, 44a.
187. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
188. Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXIV-B and XXVI-a.
189. Yakshi (in Mathura museum), holding a parrot in a cage.
190. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 244.
191. *Ibid.*, LXXXII, 44a.
192. *Ibid.*, LXXXVIII, 73a.
193. *Ibid.*, LXXXVI, 10b.
194. *Ibid.*, XC. 83b.
195. The ordinary meaning of the word *ihāmṛga*, a kind of antelope, however, does not carry much connotation. It is used in a special sense and is the compound of two words according to Sivaramamurti. It may be *ihānusārṁṛgah* or *ihāmanuṣṭya kṛte mṛgah*. Taken in any way, it is an animal carved according to the fancy of the sculptor. The beginning of the idea of creating these fabulous creatures are met with as early as in *Rgveda* (VII. 104, 22). References to *ihāmṛgas* we also get in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (5, 9.13, 18.8, 42, 16), the *Mahābhārata* (111, 173, 50), *Rayapasenīya*; *Samraṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* (18.6), *Jātākas*, *Purāṇas* like *Matsya*, *Linga*, *Harivaṁśa*, *Vāyu*, *Brahma*, *Vāmana*, etc., *Raghuvamśa*, (13. 11); *Aparajita Prichchhe* (233, 4-6) and *Dhañanjaya Nāmamāla* (9th cent. A.D.)—verse No. 127, *Chararana*. etc.
196. The term *ihāmṛga* was generally used from olden times for fabulous animals but from the Gupta period onwards, the term *vyāla* came into frequent use. We may study their parallels in sumerian, Hittite, Assyrian, Mesopotomian, Creton, Trojan, Lycean, phoenician, Achaemenian and Scythian art. Coomaraswamy observes "in fact a great variety of motifs found in Mourya, Suṅga and early Andhra art and thus antedating the age of Hellenistic influence, present a western Asiatic appearance". (A. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and*

- Indonesian Art*, p. 11). Evidently, *ihāmrga* was mostly imported conception which luxuriated in extreme in Indian climate.
197. Marshall & Foucher, *op cit.*, pls. 20, 24, 26, 28, 62, 63, 69, of Vol. II and 88, 89, 101, 102 of Vol. II.
 198. *Ibid.*, pls. 9a, 74a, 75a.
 199. *Ibid.*, 62a, 77a, 79b.
 200. *Ibid.*, 62.
 201. *Ibid.*, 63.
 202. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kishkindhā*, *Kāṇḍa* 42, 16.
 203. V.S. Agrawal, *Indian Art*, (Varanasi, 1965) p. 72.
 204. Jahanghir Ghaemmaghmi, *The lion in the beliefs of the Aryans*, *Historical Studies of Iran*, No. 3, 1975, p. 36, fig. 8.
 205. *Ibid.*, fig. 16.
 206. Jahanghir Ghaemmaghmi, *op cit.*, fig. 16.
 207. *Ibid.*, fig. 22.
 208. Sivaramamurti, *op cit.*, IV. 7.
 209. Barua, *op cit.*, XXXII.
 210. Krishna Murthy, *op cit.*, fig. XV, 16.
 211. *Kankali Tila*, XXXVII.
 212. Marshall & Foucher, *op cit.*, 63.
 213. *Ibid.*, 47.
 214. *Ibid.*, 46, 56, 67, 69, 76, 81, 84.
 215. M.A. Dhaky, *The vyāla figures in the Medieval temples of India*, (Varanasi, 1965), p. 17.
 216. Collins, *Concise, Encyclopaedia of Greek and Roman Mythology*, (Glasgow, 1969), p. 120.
 217. Collins, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.
 218. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, pls. 21, 24, 26.
 219. *Ibid.*, 24.
 220. Dhaky, *op cit.*, p. 17.
 221. *Ibid.*, 89b.
 222. *Jātaka*, 186.
 223. *Jātaka*, 545.
 224. Begotten by Poseidon, Pegasus sprang forth with Chrysa or from the bleeding body of his mother Medusa, when her head was cut off by Perseus. On his birth he soared into the air and the spot where he first rested was the acropolis of Corinth. While Pegasus paused there to drink at the fountain of Peirene Belleraphon caught and tamed him, by the favour of Athene and Poseidon. It was on Pegasus that Belleraphon was mounted when performing his heroic exploits, including his conquest of the Chimaera. Afterwards, when Pegasus had thrown his rider, the stud flew upwards to the immortals to dwell in the

palace of Zeus and to bring him his thunder and lightening. By the later writers, Pegasus is described as the stud of Eos or of the Muses. On the spot where he struck Helicon with his hoof, there gushed forth the inspring fountain of Muses known as Hippocrene (the fountain of the steed). The spring of Hippocrene near Troezen, and that of Peirene on the Acro-corinthus were said to have had a similar origin (Seyffert, *op. cit.*), p. 465-566.

225. Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
226. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, pl. 90, 85b.
227. *Mātaṅgalilā of Nīlakantha*, Ed. with notes by T.G. Sastry, Trivendrum, 1910, I, 22-23.
228. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 11, 15, 24, 29, 34, 36, 41-43, 47, 49, 51, 55, 56, 58, 59, 62, 63-65 etc.
229. *Ibid.*, 11, 35, 36, 41, 43, 47, 55, 59 62 and 63.
230. *Ibid.*, 24, 51.
231. *Ibid.*, 42.
232. *Vishṇudharmottara*, 42, 43.
233. *Jātaka*, No. 485.
234. *Kumārasambhava*, Sarga 1, verse 8.
235. Layard, *Nineveh and its remains*, pl. XLVI, fig. 2.
236. The cylindrical seal is preserved in the British Museum. Also see Larousse, *World Mythology*, (1977), p. 69.
237. Larousse, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
238. Seyffert, *op. cit.*, pp. 588-589.
239. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
240. Collins, *Concise Encyclopedia of Greek and Roman Mythology*, (Glasgow, 1969), p. 122.
241. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 46.
242. *Ibid.*, 66.
243. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX, fig. 2.
244. Dhaky, *op. cit.*, fig. 20, p. 23.
245. Seyffert, *op. cit.*, p. 600-601 and Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
246. Larousse, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
247. *Ibid.*, p. 205.
248. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 27.
249. *Ibid.*, 27.
250. *Ibid.*, 35.
251. In the Egyptian art, we get differently a composite deity with body of Patah-Seker, rams head of Amun of Khnum and hawks back of Horus (6th-4th cent. B.C.). It is preserved in the Cambridge Museum (Larousse, *op. cit.*, p. 27).
252. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 46.

253. Larousse, *op. cit.*, p. 81. The sculpture under reference is in Ankara Museum.
254. Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, 75, 7b.
255. *Ibid.*, 89, 81b and 90, 82.
256. Seyffert, *op. cit.*, p. 123; Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 65-66; Larousse, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
257. Vincent Smith, *op. cit.*, XV.
258. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 90, 86b.
259. Asis Sen, *Animal motifs in Ancient Indian Art*, (Calcutta, 1972) p. 87; E.W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 204.
260. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 90, 84b.
261. *Ibid.*, 66-b.
262. *Ibid.*, 75, 8b and 80, 30a.
263. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
264. *Mahābhārata*, ii, 173, 50.
265. *Ragh.*, XIII, II; Sivaramamurti, *Sculpture inspired by Kālidāsa* (Sanskrita Academy, Madras, 1942).
266. A. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣhas*, II, (1932), p. 50.
267. A. Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, Trans. by Burgess, (London) 1901, p. 57.
268. Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 76, 11b.
269. *Ibid.*, 79, 25a.
270. *Ibid.*, 91.
271. *Ibid.*, 11b.
272. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 173.
273. F.C. Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, (Varanasi, 1972) pl. XXI, fig. 2.
274. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
275. Marshall & Foucher, pp. 127f.
276. Seyffert, *op. cit.*, p. 203; Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
277. Seyffert, *op. cit.*, p. 203, in Greek literature the male counterpart of Echindna is known as Ercchthius (Seyffert, *op. cit.*, p. 223).

Epilogue

The foregoing account of the rich material culture depicted in the Sanchi reliefs tries to present vividly the pattern of life that thrived during the second half of the 1st century B.C. They precisely delineate the life of a generation or two and therefore, present us the panoramic pattern of culture during that particular period. Religion, some foreign elements and a large measure of indigenous traits are seen to have left indelible impression on the society and civilization that flourished during the period.

The entire wealth of cultural equipment in the reliefs shows that the middle of the 1st century B.C. was considerably a flourishing period in Indian history. People lived in peace and tranquility. They were prosperous and flourishing, for it is only an affluent society that can create such magnificent edifices of its culture and heritage as those found at Sanchi. Apparently the economic prosperity combined with political peace and the religious zeal, resulted in creation of thriving society which was fit to assimilate new trends as also to transform the older ones. Hence, we notice at Sanchi the emergence of many new trends and revival of the older ones.

The master-sculptors of the Sanchi reliefs have meticulously portrayed the architectural details which include every thing—from a humble hut to a magnificent palace. The cities had massive fortifications with lofty rampart walls (*prākāras*) and innumerable city gates. The high and battlemented rampart walls served as ideal defensive structures with their impressive gate houses (*dvāra-koṭṭhakas*) and towers (*dvāra-aṭṭālaka*). The royal mansions were many storeyed

ranging from *eka-bhūmika* to *catu-bhūmika*. As usual, the royal living apartments were located in the *hetṭa-pāsādas*, approachable by stair-cases (*sopānas*). Thus, the palaces, palace-interiors, city gates and gateway etc. illustrated in the reliefs were of the highest form of civil architecture and all of urban type.

The rich and the royal lived in the palaces as the poor lived in the huts. That the middle class lived in the tiled house could only be a conjecture as there is no instance of such depiction in the Sanchi reliefs. The homestead of the poor, however, consisted of thatched huts; these huts had no doors. Perhaps, the doors were detachable and used only when necessary, like those used even to this day by the primitive tribes like the Chenchus and Lambadis and other local tribes. Two types of huts namely (1) those with rectangular or oblong ground plan and barrel roof and pinnacles over the roof resembling *śālas* and (2) those with circular ground plan and domical roof were available. Evidently, as construed by Sivaramamurti some of the *kūṭāgāras* had similar form with the addition of the horse-shoe windows and finials and hence huts are designated in literature as *kūṭis*. The style of the roof followed the necessities of the plan of the structures; in case of the building with a circular ground plan, evidently domical roof was provided, while buildings with a rectangular or oblong ground plan possessed vaulted roofs. In all probability, domical roofs were constructed over smaller rooms while vaulted roofs capped the large ones in a palace complex.

As for the religious structures, the *stūpas* were built in the strict conformity with the religious texts like the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Mahāvamśa*. All the components of the *stūpa* as envisaged in the religious texts such as the drum (*vedikā*) the dome (*aṇḍa*) surmounting the *vedikā*, the *harmikā*, the *chhatra*, the circumambulatory path (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*) and the railings consisting of uprights (*ūrdhava-pattas*) and cross-bars (*sūchis*) standing on the tenons meticulously composed the *stūpas*. The *bodigharas* were many and usually they enshrined *bodhi-drumas*, *agni*, *nāga* etc.

In the construction of the many storeyed *prāsādas* the materials chiefly employed appeared to be timber, brick and stone. The

Vindhya sand stone seemed to have been lavishly used as building material as is evident from the available pillared *maṇḍapas* at Sanchi. The *stūpas* were built of brick as can be known from the prevailing *stūpas* at Sanchi.

In the matter of dress, there appeared to be no difference between the royalty and the commonalty either in the articles of dress or in the mode of wearing them. If at all there existed any difference in the dress of these two classes, it could have been in the material.

Amongst the aristocratic persons, the king's dress included generally, an *antariya* and an *uttariya*. Sometimes, the *dhoti*, the lower garment extended upto the ankle in graceful folds. However, foreign impact in the matter of dress can be seen in case of some sections of the contemporary people like kings, royal personages etc. Sometimes, kings wore full sleeved tunic. Similarly, the royal personages at times, appeared in half sleeved tunic which can be identified as *kūrpāśaka*. These full sleeved or half sleeved tunics were essentially a central Asian garment. According to Dr. Aggarwala, this type of garments could be *china-cholaka*. This dress in all probability, came with the Scythians in 1st century B.C. at Sanchi. However, they were on the increase only in the 2nd, 3rd centuries A.D. as is known from the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mathura. However, they became an article of common use only in the Gupta period as we find such coats worn by the Gupta monarchs on some of their coins. Further, similar but rather loose tunic known as *chogā* was later used by the Moghal princes. The *chogā* in all probability, finds its proto-type in *china-cholaka*.

The *kūrpāśaka* (half-sleeved bodice), a central Asian garment does not appear to have taken much time to appear on the Indian scene as some men in the early group of Ajanta painting and in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are shown wearing it. Later, it became very common in Gupta period and still continue to be worn by villagers in Mahārāstra where it is known as *kopari* (in Marāṭhi), the name that has been derived from the Sānskrit *kūrpāśaka*.

The pyzama or trousers worn by some of the royal personages in the reliefs seem also to be of Central Asian origin. Apparently, this apparel was introduced by Śakas into India. Sometimes, the upper garment consisting of broad piece of cloth was worn. This resembled very much the Roman *toga*. All this show imminent foreign impact in the matter of dress. As for the dress of the commoners, the malas invariably wore *ardhorukas* which ended well above the knees.

The costume of the royal ladies and that of the ladies of the lower class looked similar and generally comprised of an *adhovastra*. However, the queens and princesses wore a lower garment made of thin material (*magnāṃśuka*). In majority of the cases, thus seem bare. The exposition of the breasts in the reliefs need not reflect immodesty on the part of the women of those times. Such depictions may be due to the artistic convention of the age as construed by Altekar. In reality even, it is said of some section of the Nayar community, ladies of the present day, has the practice of only covering the lower portion of the body with a piece of cloth round the loins thus leaving bare the upper portion.

The dress of the ascetics or anchorites comprised of lower garments made of bark. Sometimes, a single piece of garment was used for both upper and lower body as seen in the case of Mādri in her ascetic dress*. As seen in the reliefs, it is a single piece of long apparel which is tied round the loins with one end of it taken on to her left shoulder covering her left breast, thereby leaving her right breast exposed. It is interesting to note that women of rural areas and that of the lower class (i.e.) menials even to this day wear their sarees in the similar manner by leaving one of their breasts exposed.

An interesting feature of the *dhoti* worn by men of all classes was that, it is shown extended below the knees in the case of the members of royalty and nobility, while in the case of the men of the lower class, it ended just above the knees.

*Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, 33.1.

The people as early as in 1st century B.C. knew variety of ornaments as is evident from their frequent depictions. Their love for personal ornament was innate and remarkable. Some of their ornaments were of local origin while a few others had a foreign influence. The head-bands had both utilitarian and decorative value. It is quite probable, that the ornamental head-band in the course of its evolution, became the emblem of royalty and it is not unlikely that some of the *agrapattas* of our reliefs, might have been some such emblems, denoting the social status or the political prestige of the wearer. The forehead ornaments generally, included circular pendants. These circular pendants are nothing but *chatulatilaka* mentioned by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita*. The people were in the habit of using *bindī* also. It is interesting to note that forehead ornament, very similar to *lalāṭikā*, is still in use particularly in Northern India where it is known as *bindī*. But the common name is *bena* and when the piece is very small, it is called *bindī* or spot. It is also a practice among the present married Mārwādī women to put on *borla* compulsorily on every auspicious occasion. This disc pendant is later replaced by a big jewel *Simanta-cūḍāmaṇi*.

The very existence of so many varieties of ear-ornaments as detailed earlier indicate the high aesthetic sense of the people of the Sātavāhana period. Many of them have survivals at present. Thus, the disc-shaped ear-ornaments have their survivals in *dheñri* of Bengal or *tāṭaṅka-cakras* mentioned in the literature, *karnaphūl* of North India and *lolakulu* of South India respectively. The full blown lotus pattern ear-ornament obviously represented *kanaka kamala* mentioned by Kālidāsa. Their name and patterns have survived to the present day in the *kammals* (or *kammalu* in Telugu) worn by the South Indian women. Similarly, the modern *jimiki* (or *jhumakī* of North India), worn by the ladies of South India, is the survival of the *karnīkā*. Another interesting ear-ornament was the *patrāṅkura*, the survival of which can be seen in the palm-leaf scrolls used as ear ornaments by some of the lower class women of South India.

The most popular ear-ornament of the period under review was the *karnaveṣṭana* of Sivaramamurti or *Mṛṇāla kuṇḍala* of

Agrawala. This *karnaveṣṭana* which occurs profusely at Sanchi and Amarāvati, the Sātavāhana art centres are totally absent at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. It is quite probable, that this ear-ornament *karnaveṣṭana* like *phalakahāra* went out of use in the subsequent centuries and dropped from both literary and sculptural focus.

The *sarpa-kunḍala*, ear ornament seen in Sanchi reliefs may indicate its possible foreign origin. It is quite likely that this ear ornament was introduced into India by the Romans.

Like the ear-ornaments, many of the necklaces of the period under review have their survivals at present. Thus, the *mallikā-kutamala hāra* and *jāji* or *jātikusumahāra* depicted in the reliefs are seen worn by the ladies of South India even to this day. The necklaces like *Astamaṅgala hāras* which had special significance by the virtue of the auspicious character associated with them, were known to the people of 1st century B.C. The types of necklaces like *avaghātaka*, *śirshaka*, and *prakāṇḍaka* mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* find place in the Sanchi reliefs. Of the necklaces, the *ekāvali* and *phalakahāra* were mostly favoured by the sophisticated sections of the Sātavāhana society. The *ekāvali* which is very popular at Amarāvati and Sanchi, continues to maintain its popularity at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mathura and becomes extremely common at Ajanta.

Similarly, *phalakahāra* was extremely popular during Sātavāhana period as is evident from their frequent depictions at Sanchi and Amarāvati. But, at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa it is totally absent. Like *karnaveṣṭana*, this *phalakahāra* also, totally disappears from the literary and sculptural focus at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The other necklaces such as *trīṣa* or *muktikahāra* mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Chennaviraikak-ṣhaka* were all known. The *channavira* which had a military origin was again of foreign origin and probably, the Indians borrowed this object from the Persians with whom India came into contact with the invasion of Darius in the 5th century B.C.

Some of the ladies also wore string of beads (black in colour) as necklets and interestingly, similar necklets which go by the name *Nallapūsala hāramu* in Telugu is seen even today in the necks of the

married women of Andhra Pradesh and Karnāṭaka states. The necklets were usually, of metal plaques consisting mostly of floral design.

Among the varieties of the waist-ornaments, the *maṇimekhalās* and *mekhalā kalāpas* seem to have been favoured very much by the people of the Sātavāhana period. Children wore a string with bell pendants probably, of gold around their waists, the survival of which can be seen in the modern “*gajjalamolathādu*”, a waist-ornament specially worn by the children of Andhra Pradesh. Of the leg ornaments (*nūpurās*) the anklet *kaḍaga* and multicoiled *mañjirā* were of special interest.

In respect of coiffure known to the people, the Sanchi reliefs offer copious varieties revealing their native and foreign origins. Generally, men had long hair or the curly hair. The curly hair was a raging fashion in the Hellenistic and Roman world. The intimate contacts that the India had with the Greeks and Romans just before the Christian era was responsible for the introduction of this fashion of hair into India. It came with the Greeks, in the 4th century B.C. at Gandhara. It made its appearance, again, in the Sātavāhana period as is evident from the Sanchi reliefs. The forehead bands were used to keep the curly hair unruffled. This toilet article was introduced into India by the Greco-Romans. This type of fastenings were very popular during the Gupta period. The Indians preferred to use silken-bands (*vālapāśyā*) or bands of thin sheet of metal (*patrapāśyā*). The children, invariably, dressed their hair into an egg shaped ball (*sikhaṇḍa*). In the case of ascetics, the hair-style usually, consisted of the combined mode of *jaṭābhāra* and *sikhaṇḍa*. The charming hair-style, the peacock-plume (*Barha-bhāra keśa*) was favoured more by females than men. This hair-style appears to be very common in the early period as is evident at Sanchi, Amarāvati, and Mathura. However, it is not so common at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. But one can see its extreme popularity in the Gupta period. However, it was bun that was very popular in the Sātavāhana period at Sanchi. This hair-style, the roundish bun again, appears to be a foreign introduction. In the early times, the Greek and Roman ladies showed great aptitude in combing their hairs into a bun. Probably, they were responsible for introducing this

hair-style at Sanchi in 1st century B.C. This hair-style which was very common in the early period, continued to be popular at Nāgārjunakonda also. However, the bun became extremely popular only during the Vākātaka-Gupta period, which fact is well borne out by its innumerable depictions in the later group of Ajanta paintings. Arranging the hair in the high triple-chignon was another fashion of hair-style among the ladies. However, the *praveṇī* hair-style did not seem to have been preferred by the ladies of Sanchi as their choice was more for the roundish bun. That the ladies at Sanchi bestowed considerable time for their hairdo can be known from the elaborate hair-styles adopted by them. At times, they combed their hair back without parting line (*simanta*) and allowed it to form a tuft at the back of the head. A few locks of hair were arranged to form into a loop for tucking into tuft.

The head-dress known to the people included ready-made turban, a turban made of winding round the head a long rolled scarf and a cap or helmet. The head-dresses were worn by both men and women and generally, they were embellished by fixing ornamental devices like discs, floral designs, strings of beads, gems or pearls. A tiara with a ball-like crest, ornamented with lotus petal pattern occurs in the Sanchi reliefs. This tiara or *ardhamakuta* marks the intervening stage in the evolution of turban into tiara. Such tiaras or *ardhamakutas* are conspicuously absent in the early Indian art and its presence at Sanchi unmistakably marks their beginning in the Sātavāhana period. The persistent presence of this *ardhamakuta* can be seen in the later Sātavāhana sculptures and in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakonda. However, their finest representations occur in the Vākātaka Gupta period at Ajanta. Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* prescribes such dainty *ardhamakuta* to generals and minor chiefs. This literary citation is well answered at Sanchi sculptural representations. Another interesting feature of the head dresses of Sanchi was the presence of *Kirita* in the reliefs. This *kirita* can be taken to be the proto-type of the lavishly jewelled *kiritas* of the later period. Indra appears in the reliefs with a cylindrical head-dress.

Among the variety of caps known to them, the conical caps which had the streamers attached at times might be of foreign origin. The musicians, depicted in the orchestra scene at Sanchi with the conical caps may be the Greeks or Scythians with whom Sanchi people came into contact in the early centuries before the Christian era.

As regards the head-dresses of women, sometimes ladies are shown having discarded the heavy type of head-dress and favoured much lighter ones which not in the least diminished the beauty of their person. The females also covered their heads with *orhni* decorated with beautiful borders.

Among the stringed instruments, the harp and guitar type of *Vīṇas* were in use. The harp-shaped *vīṇā* was evolved on the principle of bow and resonator and may be regarded as the fore-runner of all musical instruments in the world. In the ancient Egypt, the bow harp was called *bjn* or *bin* which becomes *vini* in koptic. The guitar resembles, according to Raghavan, to *citra* from which the modern *sitar* is derived. But Coomaraswamy sees more resemblance to guitar in mandolin which has its survival in Travancore *dunduni*. This mandolin is also very much like a Japanese *biwa*. The percussion instruments (*ānaddha*) known to them included, *mṛdaṅga*, *muraja*, *mardala* etc. The *mardala* is typologically mid-way between the more refined *muraja* and noisy *paṭah*. The *dundhubi* or *nagāra* was generally played in royal processions or in religious ceremonies and royal processions during the period under review. The *paṭah* represented in the reliefs have close resemblance to the modern *daph* of Mahārāshtra state or *tappeta* of the Andhra Pradesh or *tappidi* of the Karnātaka state. Another interesting frame-drum prevalent in the Sātavāhana period was the small hand-drum. It very much resembles Greek *Tympan*, the survival of which can be seen in *marfa*, commonly used by the *fakirs* of India.

As for the wind instruments, Greek *Syrinx* or pan-pipe and Greek *salpinx* or Roman *tuba* (trumpet) appear in the reliefs. The interesting feature is that, the pan-pipe is still in use in the country, particularly in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and northern part of Madhya

Pradesh where the cow-boys especially, those belonging to the *Ahir* community play on it and the instrument is known as *alogojyā*. As for the solid instruments, the cymbals (*ghana*) were known to the period.

The domestic vessels like bowls, basins, plates and platters, vases, *kūjas*, spouted vessels, jars, water bottles, cups, ladles, pots with or without lids etc., formed part of the domestic utensils of the *Sātavāhana* period. *Kūjas* represented in the reliefs may denote *sarka*, in all probability the Persian *Surahi*. The spouted vessels with handles (*kamāṇḍalu*) used by the people of the *Sātavāhana* period are still prevalent among the ascetics in India. The *dharmakaraka* used by the Buddhist monks was probably of this type. The people used ladle (*juhū*), hearth for sacred fire, fire-tong (*sapha*), *samidhas* and ceremonial vessels in their vedic observances. The *paribhojaniya ghaṭas* and *pāniya ghaṭas* were used for carrying and storing water. The people, for carrying water, used an interesting contrivance which resembles the present day *kāvaḍi* of Andhra Pradesh or *bahingi* of North India. Sometimes, people carried their food in cloth bags like the modern *jogis*. Such cloth bags are known as *joli(s)* in Andhra Pradesh and *padsī* in Mahārāshtra State.

In the manufacture of basket work, the plaited technique was possibly employed. The village men used mortar (*ulūkhala*) and pestle (*mūsala*) for pounding the grains. As seen today, the muller and stool querns were used for grinding *cari* powders etc. The grain was winnowed in the winnowing baskets, the survivals of which can be seen even to this day. The square shaped fans (*dhavitras*) resembling the modern Peshawar *pankas* appeared to have been very popular during the period under review.

The furniture depicted in the reliefs was mostly royal. The *miḍhis*, *pallaṅkas*, *addhapallaṅkas*, *siṃhāsana* constituted the royal thrones. The people also used rectangular wooden blocks as seats. Such seats are still in use in South India and are known as *pīṭah* in Telugu. These seats also resemble the modern *chowki* used in the North India today. The ascetics sat on mats made of reeds (*bhitti*) while performing the vedic rituals. The circular seats or *moras* (*Vetrāsanas*) were again of

common use and were utilised by all classes of people. Probably, the modern *mora* might be related to the word *munda* mentioned in *Nāṭyaśāstra* as both signify identical form and material. The wicker stands were another item of furniture article known to them and when they were utilised for sitting, they can be *paṭṭa kaṇḍolikas* of *Cullavagga* and when they were intended for serving food, they denote *bhojana phalakhas* of Buddhagosa.

The foot-stools (*pādapiṭhas*) which in majority of the cases were rectangular, were generally provided to the royal thrones. The bed-steads were luxurious. Pillows and cushions were used freely.

The people had several types of conveyances to go about. Horses, well bred and probably imported from central Asia and Persian elephants, bulls and camels were used for riding. The camels were of double humped variety and evidently imported from Bactria. The reliefs also depict goat riders and stag riders. It is interesting to note the bits for the horse's mouths were known. There is also an indication of the use of stirrup (*rakab*). It is quite likely that the stirrups at Sanchi were of foreign origin and were introduced by the Sakas or Romans. The horses and elephants had rich trappings. The horses had trellised saddle (*paryāna*). The necks of the elephants used to be decorated with *nakṣatra mālās* and their ears were adorned with *karna cūlis*.

The bullock carts with spoked wheels were used for travelling while the chariots drawn by two or four horses were used in royal processions and in warfare.

As for the water transport, the simple broad boat paddles and an elaborate *madhya-mandirā* type of boat were known.

The study of the weapons depicted in the Sanchi reliefs gives us the fair idea of the weapons used by the people of the period under review. The ethics of war during the *Sātavāhana* period was very high and was followed very rigidly. It is noteworthy that bowman attacked only bowman as is evident from the battle scenes represented in the relief, which is in the strict confirmity with rules enjoined in early Indian battles. Among the weapons of office, the conventional types

such as lances, spears, clubs, swords were well known. The bows like self-bow, composite bow and compound bow were used.

As for the weapons of defence the shields of triangular shape (*hasti karṇa*) and oblong shape (*kavāṭa*) were known.

The games, known to them were many and they included dice-play, marble-play, hop-sotch play. These games, have been survived even to this day. The other amusements and pastimes were aquatic sports, drinking, stick play, hunting and fishing. At leisure times, they engaged themselves in chit-chatting, a feature which can be seen commonly even among the present day people. Palm reading was also their another hobby.

Two varieties of foot-wear namely, sandals and boots were used by the people. What is interesting is that in the reliefs, the men in the royal processions and in the villages appear without foot-wear. Perhaps, the artist portrayed them without foot-wear keeping with the general custom prevailing in the rural areas even to this day. It is a common sight to see the villagers go bare-footed even when they are engaged in long journeys.

The rural life appeared to be very hectic during 1st century B.C. as can be known from the representations. The village women engaged themselves in the household tasks like pounding grains, grinding *cari* powder, winnowing rice and preparing cake. The men too were busy in earning their livelihood. The fishing constituted one of their occupations. Likewise, there were also hunters' settlements. The anchorites busied themselves in the preparation of items needed for the vedic observances. The vendors as seen today, occupied the way-sides to make hay of their trade. The capital punishment during the Sātavāhana period was very rigid. The criminals were trampled to death by elephants.

The royal insignia (*parichchhada*) of the Sātavāhana rulers comprised royal throne, umbrella, pair of fly-whisks etc. The banners and scepters were carried either before or behind the king. The *chhatras*, and *cāmaras* were also used freely for religious purposes.

The flora represented in Sanchi is scanty as compared to the fauna. However, it is interesting to note that a majority of the flora represented in the reliefs is still grown in Madhya Pradesh. The trees like the *pippal*, the banyan, the sal and the mango are abundantly grown in the regions, in and around Sanchi. It is quite probable, that the surrounding sylvan culture could have been the subject matter for the sculptor while portraying the *jātaka* stories and life scenes of the Buddha. The other trees which are alien to Sanchi might have been borrowed either from their depictions in early Indian art or from the Buddhist texts by the artists of Sanchi.

Similarly, the majority of the fauna represented in the sculptures is identical with the present day fauna of Madhya Pradesh. The lion and the elephant that occur in the reliefs are rather sparse or almost absent at present. The fauna in the surrounding environment, coupled with the requirements of the texts of the *jātaka* stories like Shaddanta *jātaka*, possibly, inspired the sculptor to carve them on stone.

The mythical animals (*ihāmrgas*) are varied. While some of them seek foreign origins, the others find place in Sānskrit literature. Thus, the griffins, winged horse, bull with human face and ram horn, centaurs, reveal unmistakable foreign origin. The mythical animals like winged lion (*Simha vyāla*), winged stag (*hariṇa vyāla*), *kiṇṇaras*, *kiṇṇaris*, *śuka vyāla*, *garuḍa vyāla*, *mesha vyāla*, *hayagrīva*, *gajavaktra jasha* etc., represented in the reliefs, undoubtedly, reveal indigenous traits. These *śuka*, *garuḍa*, or *syena*, *hariṇa* and *meśha vyālas* of Sanchi may be the incipient examples of the elaborate *vyālas* of the later period.

Thus, we see in the Sanchi reliefs a picturesque panorama of life that thrived in the second half of the 1st century B.C. at Sanchi. We witness emergence of many innovations and the retrieval of older traditions.

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Index

A

- Agrawala, R.C., 36, 39, 46, 48, 62, 216.
 Agrawala, V.S., 73.
 Ajanta, 45, 58-59, 62-63, 71, 89, 101,
 104, 108-109, 123, 127, 151, 155-156,
 164-165, 170, 180, 190, 192, 206.
 Amara, 59.
 Ānaddha, 119.
 Arrian, 163, 189.
 Altekar, A.S., 43.
Arthaśāstra, 14, 69-70, 76, 85, 181, 189,
 192, 199.
 Aśoka, *E* 2-3, 35, 62, 65-66, 106, 124,
 126, 154, 164, 177, 190-191.
 Antepura, 17.

B

- Bailey, H.W., 39.
 Bāṇa, 21, 45, 68, 69, 74, 85, 109, 165,
 209.
 Bharata, 152, 158.
 Bhavabhuti, 2.
 Bhūṣaṇas, Bāhu, 77.
 Buddha, Gautama, 6, 22, 26, 28, 118,
 140, 150-151, 169, 184, 215-216, 222-
 224, 243.
 Buddhism, 1-3, 5, 9, 26, 191.
 Buddhist art, 2, 37, 107.

C

- Caityas*, *Vṛkṣha*, 28.
Chāmaradhāra, 44.
Chāmaradhārinis, 44, 61, 80, 82-83, 85,
 87.
Chhatradhāras, 45.
Chhatradhārinis, 45.
 Chenchus, 21.
Coiffure, 99, 101, 105.
 Coomaraswamy, A.K., 9, 13, 27, 119,
 245.
 Cole, H.H., 2.
Cullavagga, 21, 25, 35, 65, 67, 150, 156,
 157-158.
 Cunningham, Alexander, 1.

D

- Demons, 40, 109.
Dighanikāya, 18.
 Dwarf, 40, 72, 76, 78, 79, 109, 243.

E

- Egerton, W., 185.
 Ekāvali, 69-71.

F

- Fergusson, J., 18, 109, 163.
 Foucher, A., 111, 245.

G

- Gandhāra, 59, 64-65, 75, 89, 100, 102, 104, 107, 109, 112, 118, 124-127, 132, 134-136, 138, 141, 150-151, 155-156, 157-158, 164, 166-167, 169, 191, 216.
 Gāthāsaptasāti, 76, 81, 84-85.
 Gautama, 78.
 Ghana, 127.
 Ghara, *bodhi*, 26-27.
 Gopura, 14.
 Grunwedel, 245.
 Guilt, Prof., 17.
 Guptas, 4.
 Gupta, Vākātak, 151.

H

- Hamid, Mohammad, 2.
 Harṣacarita, 46, 48, 59, 68-69, 111.
 Harshavardhana, 5, 74, 111, 218.
 Hiler, Hilaire, 56, 82.
 Hocart, A.M., 149.

J

- Jātaka, Alambusa*, 6.
Jātakas, The, 9-10, 14, 16, 18, 23, 37, 45, 67, 119, 210.
Jātaka, Mahākapi, 6, 49, 187, 190, 202.
Jātaka, Saḍḍanta, 1.
Jātaka, Sāma, 6, 36, 72, 182, 186, 188, 202.
Jātaka, Shadanta, 215, 224.
Jātaka, Viśvantara, 16, 22-23, 25, 38, 42, 46, 48, 51, 57, 60-61, 64-67, 69-70, 80, 83-84, 107-109, 133-135, 138-139, 164, 169, 176, 182, 185, 191, 201-202, 206, 208, 213, 217, 222.
Jātaka, Vessantara, 6.

Johnson, Captain, 1.

K

- Kādambari*, 45, 111, 203.
 Kālidāsa, 20, 35, 64, 68, 79, 85, 89, 103, 111, 119, 121, 123, 156, 158, 178, 183, 187-188, 206, 241, 245.
 Kauṭilya, 69, 70, 76, 180-181, 187, 190, 192.
Kāram, Silappadi, 136.
Kavya, Soundarānanda, 89.
Koṭṭhaka, dvāra, 15.
Kshatrapas, 4.
Kumārasambhava, 156, 241.
 Kushānas, The, 4, 59, 74, 84-85, 112.

L

- Lalitavistara*, 89.
 Logan, 43.

M

- Marshall, John, 1-2, 111, 245.
Mādhava, Mālati, 2.
 Māgha, 85.
Mahābhārata, 175, 245.
Mahāpadānasutta, 222.
Mahāvagga, 155, 157-158.
Mahāvaṃśa, 18.
 Maisey, F.C., 1, 44.
 Majumdar, R.C., 2.
Mānasāra, Amarakośa, 158.
 Māra, K, 6, 26, 37, 61-63, 66, 72, 107, 109, 117, 132, 150, 156, 178, 180-182, 186-187, 201-202, 213.
 Māyā, Q, 6, 19, 41, 58, 80, 87, 89, 153, 158, 223.
 McGovern, W., 39.
 Megasthenese, 15, 164.

Milindapanha, 12.
Mitra, Rajendra Lal, 63, 152.
Mookerji, R.K., 170.
Mṛchchhakatika, 168.
Mṛdanga, 119, 122.

N

Nāṭyaśāstra, 67, 76, 78, 81, 85, 89, 108,
119, 123, 152, 158.
Nidānakatha, 111.

P

Pāṇini, 59, 64, 180.
Paramāras, 5.
Paricchada, 212.
Parikhā, 5.
Pāsāda, 17, 20, 28.
Petrie, 180.
Prakāra, 13.
Prāsāda, 16, 19.
Prāsadikās, 46.
Prasenajit, P, 38, 179.
Prathihāras, The, 5.
Purāṇa, Agni, 166, 183, 186-187.

R

Raghavan, 118.
Raghuvamśa, 152, 202.
Rāmāyaṇa, 14, 51, 59, 175, 245.
Ramachandran, K.V., 118.
Rameses III, 169.
Rao, Gopinatha, 152, 205.
Ray, Niharanjan, 8.
Rigveda, 150, 164.

S

Śakas, 40.

Śālā, gaṇa, 20.
Śālā, Parṇa, 24.
Saṃhita, Br̥hat, 158.
Samudragupta, 186.
Saṅghārāma, 1.
Sarnath, 84.
Sātakarni-II, K, 7.
Sātavāhanas, The, 4, 6, 7, 10, 13, 59,
63, 66, 74, 79, 85, 88, 100, 106,
108-109, 112, 136, 151, 198-201,
209.
Sivaramamurti, C., 21, 62, 64, 88, 117,
121, 165, 256.
Suddhodhana, K, 35, 45, 107, 212, 217.
Sūdraka, 85, 89.
Suṅgas, 3, 59, 85, 106, 112, 136, 151,
Susira, 124.
Sutta, Rāyapaseniyā, 152.
Suttavibhaṅga, 157-158.
Stuart, 79.

T

Taylor, Gen., 1.
Torāṇas, 5, 14, 26.

V

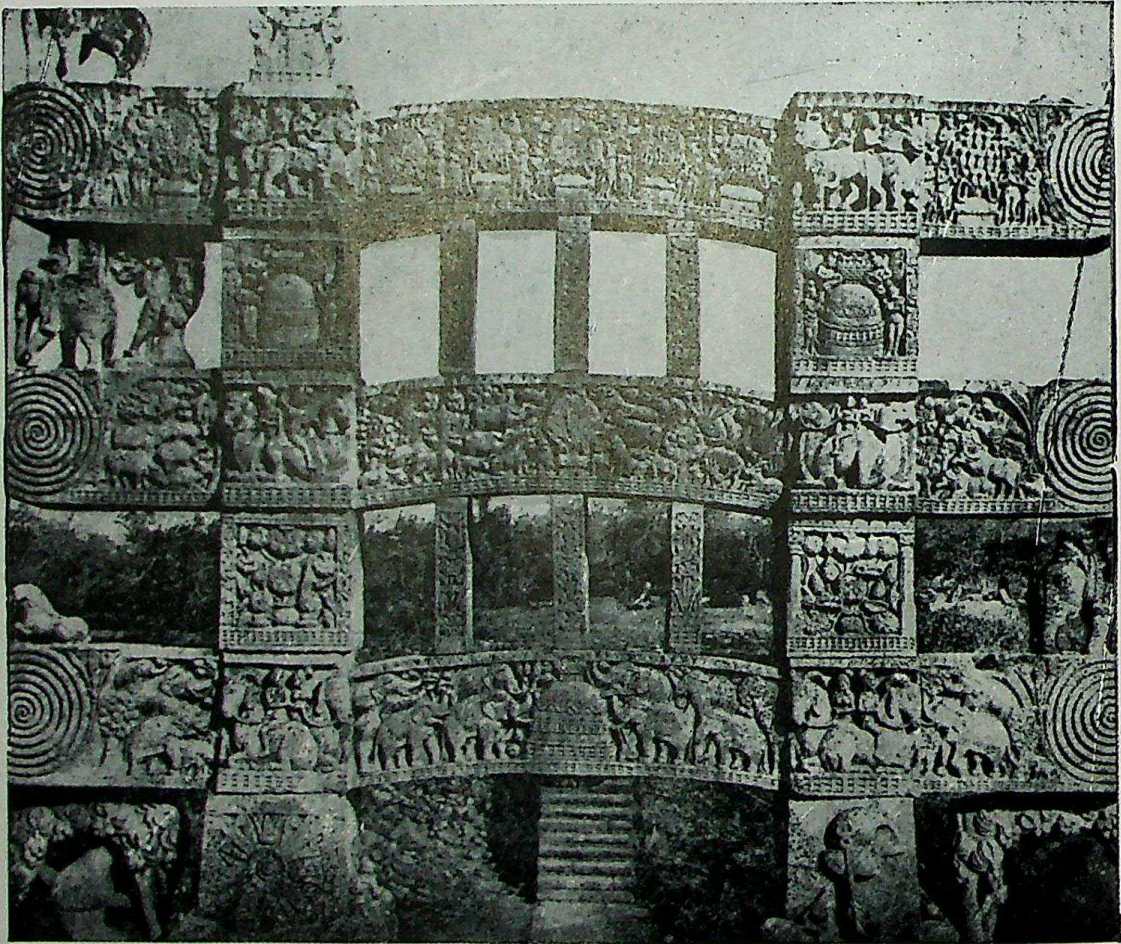
Varman, Bhāskara, 218.
Vatapana, 24.
Vishṇudharmottara, 241.
Viśvantara, P, 22, 38, 108, 134, 141,
217.

Y

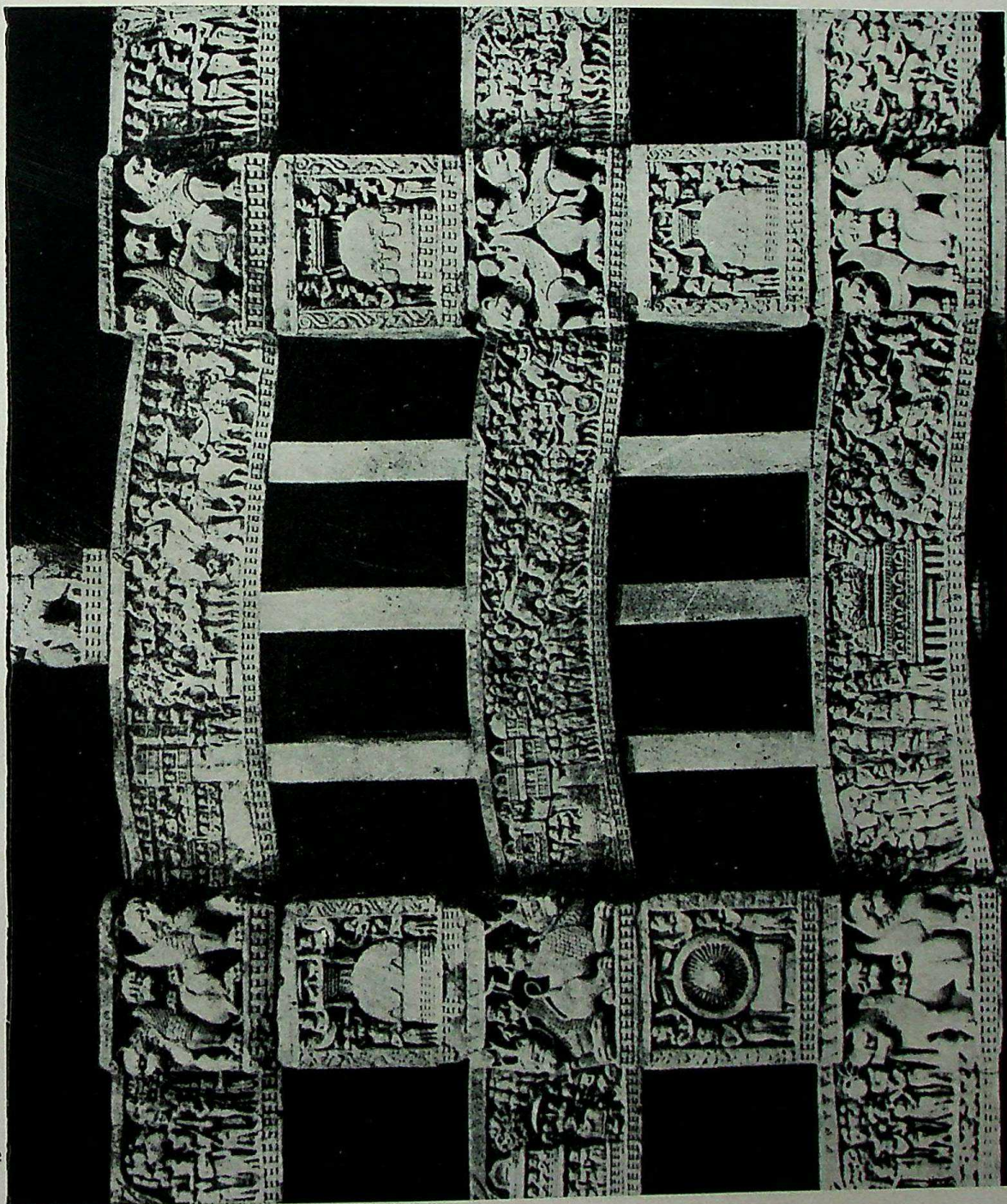
Yaksha, 37, 38, 61, 81, 107, 108.
Yaśodharman, 4.
Yudhisthira, 163.



1. General view of the Stūpa-I



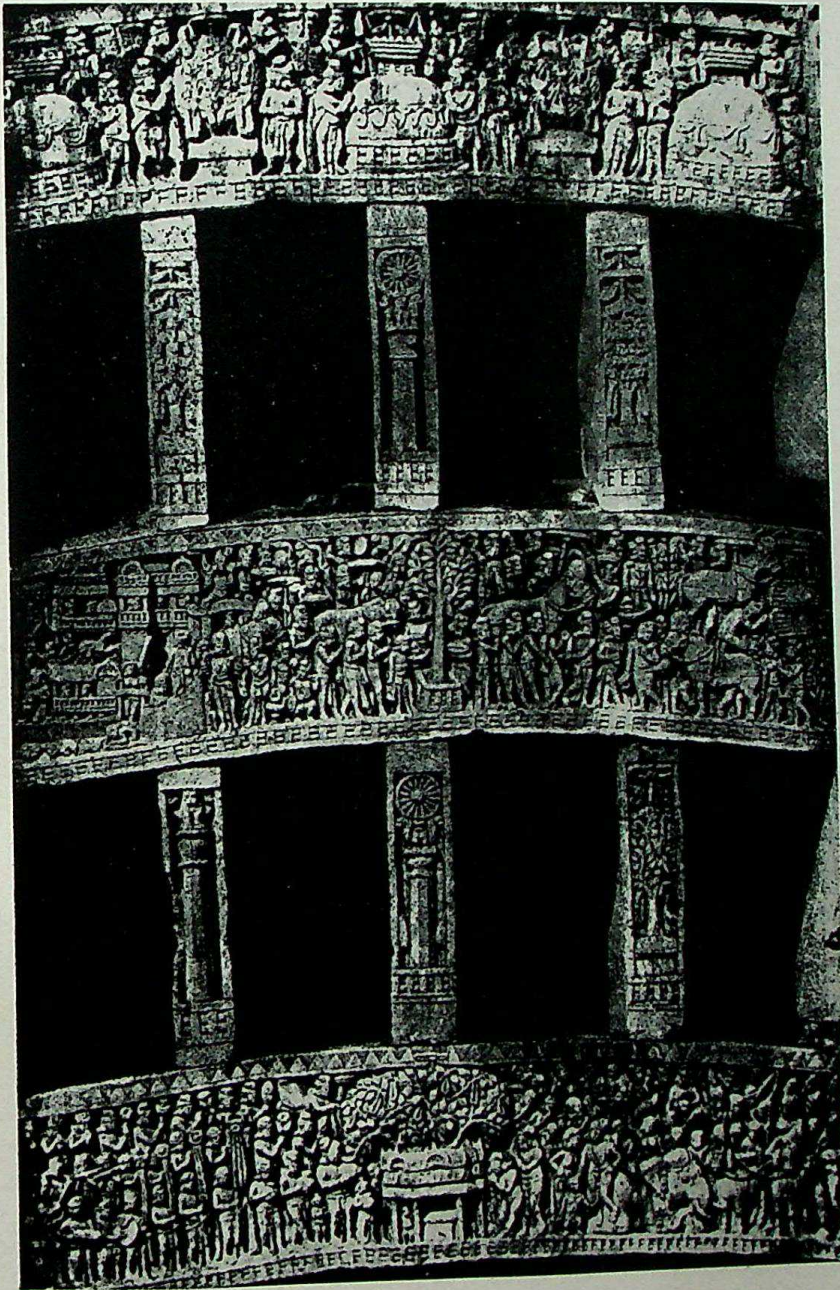
2. Back of the Eastern gateway



3. Back of the Western gateway



4. Back of the Southern gateway :
(a) Mānushi-Buddhas (b) Shaddanta Jātaka (c) War of the relics



5. Front of the Eastern gateway :
- (a) Stūpas and the Bodhi-drumas
 - (b) The Mahābhiniṣhkramaṇa
 - (c) Aśoka's visit to the Bodhi-tree

8. Pillar of the Eastern gateway with lotus-creeper like design



Western Pillar of the Southern gateway :
The first sermon (b) King Aśoka's visit to the
Bodhi-tree (c) Indra with his queen Sachi



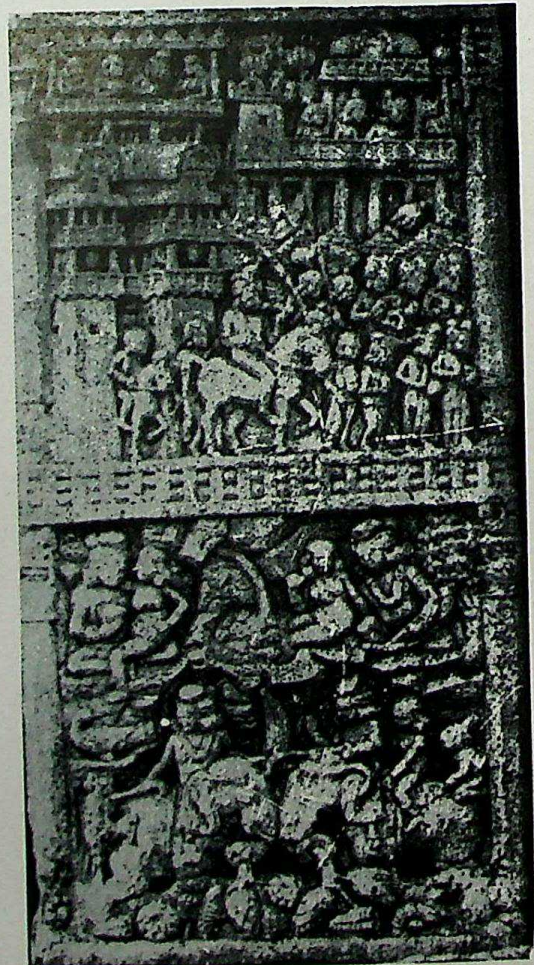
6. North Pillar of the Eastern gateway :
(a) The conception scene (b) The Yaksha



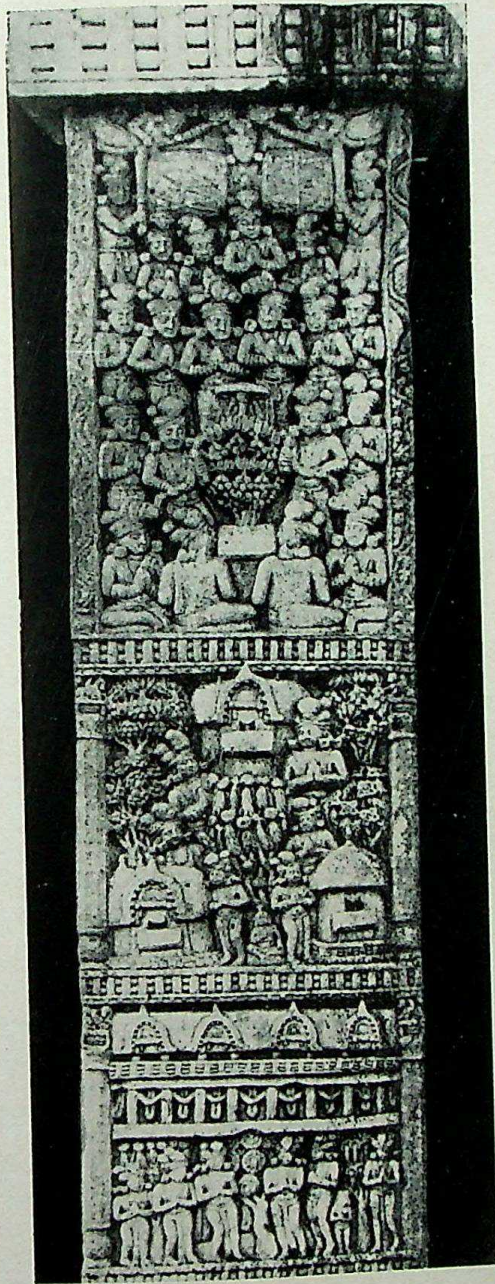
7. Pillar of the Eastern gateway with lotus design



10. West Pillar of the Southern gateway :
(a) The sambodhi (b) Aśoka's visit to the Bobhi-tree
(c) The festival of the Cūda of the Bodhisattva



11. East Pillar of the Northern gateway :
(a) Prasenajit's visit (b) Scene of Paradise



12. East Pillar of the Northern gateway :
 (a) The Great Prodigy at Srāvastī
 (b) Gift of the Jetavana (c) The Great Prodigy at Srāvastī



13. South Pillar of the Western gateway
 (a) Mahā Kapi Jātaka (b) The Adhyeshana
 (c) Indra's visit



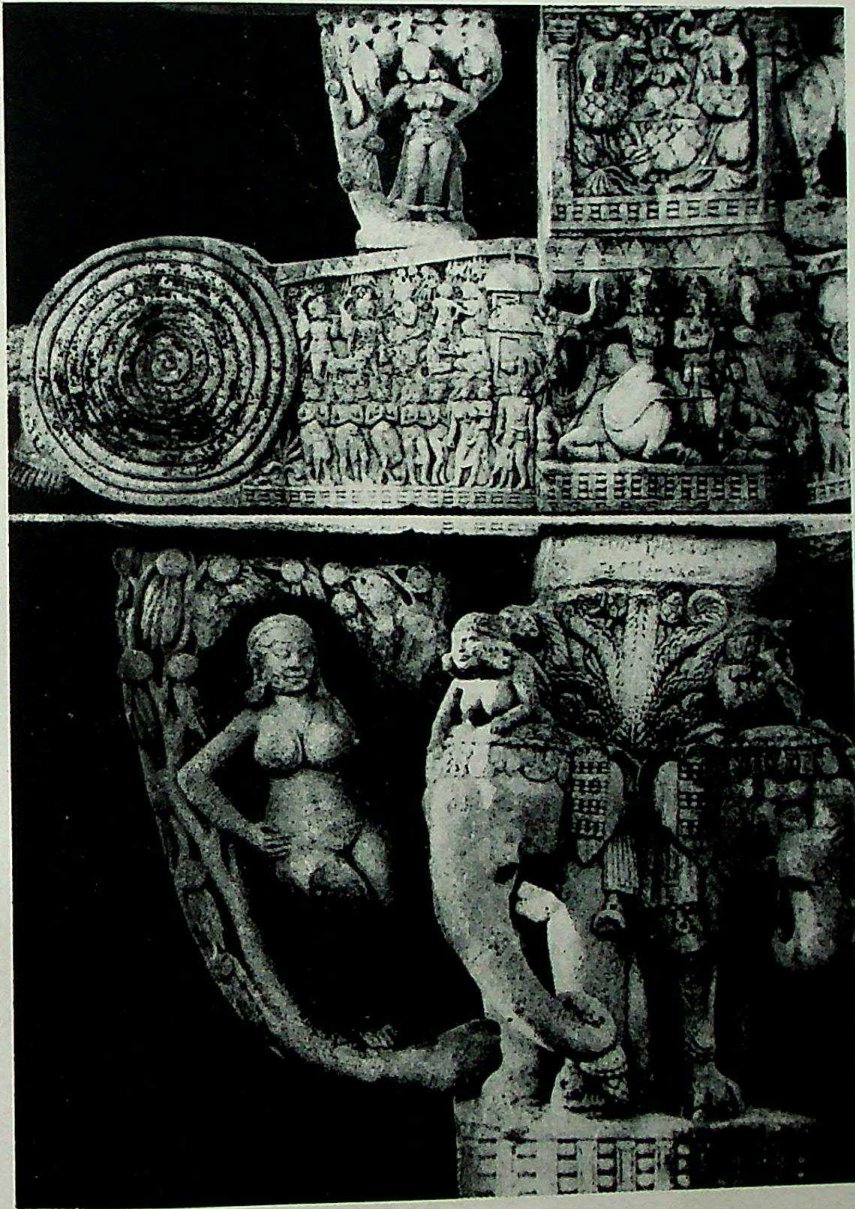
14. (a) The king in the pleasure garden
(b) Couple in dalliance



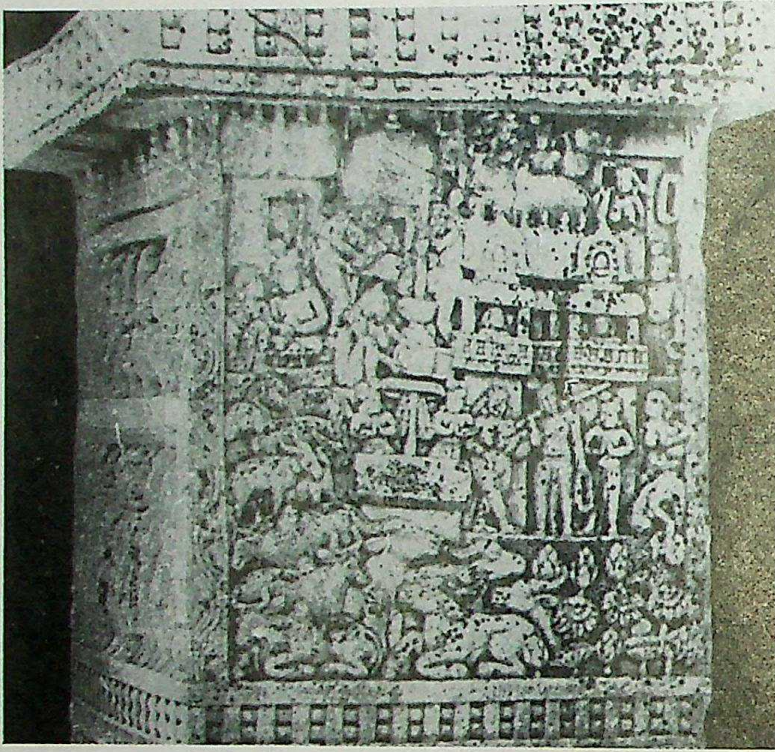
15. South Pillar of the Eastern gateway :
(a) The conversion of Kaśyapas
(b) The Royal visit



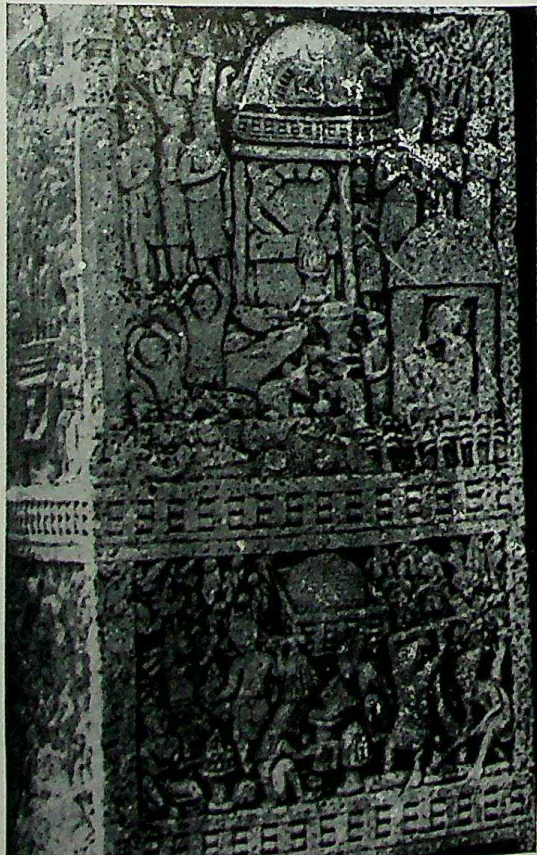
16. South Pillar of Eastern gateway :
The Sambodhi



17. Northern gateway—east end
(a) Viśvantara Jātaka (b) Sālabañjikā and other details



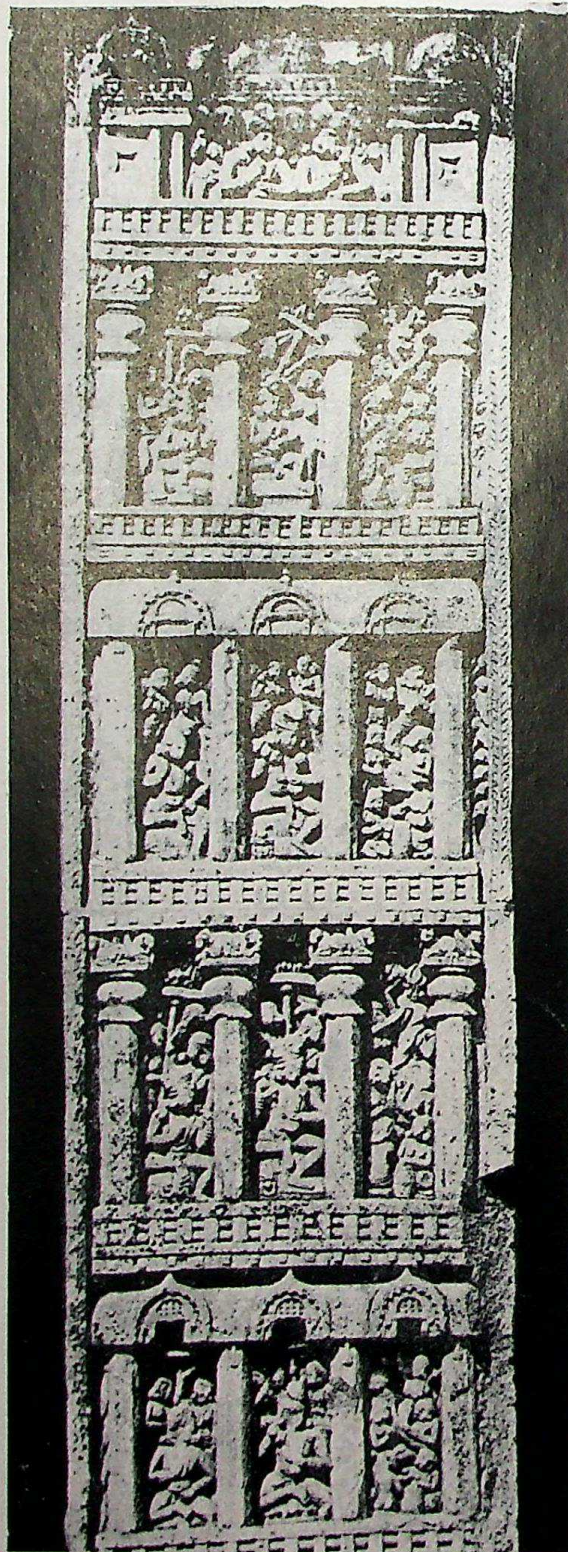
18. South Pillar of the Eastern gateway :
Uruvilva Village Scene



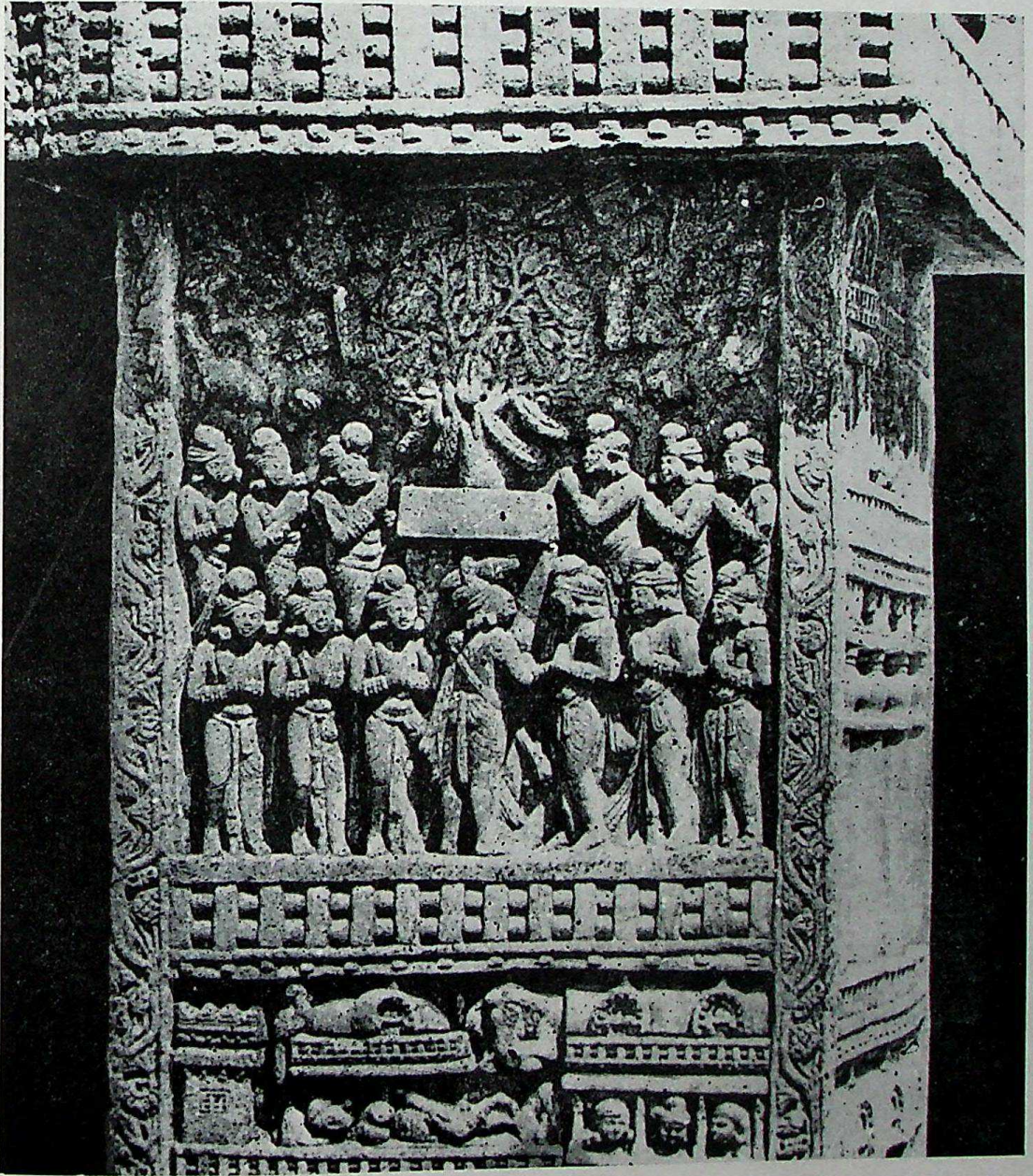
19. South Pillar of the Eastern gateway :
(a) Miraculous victory over the the Nāga
(b) Everyday life in the hermitage



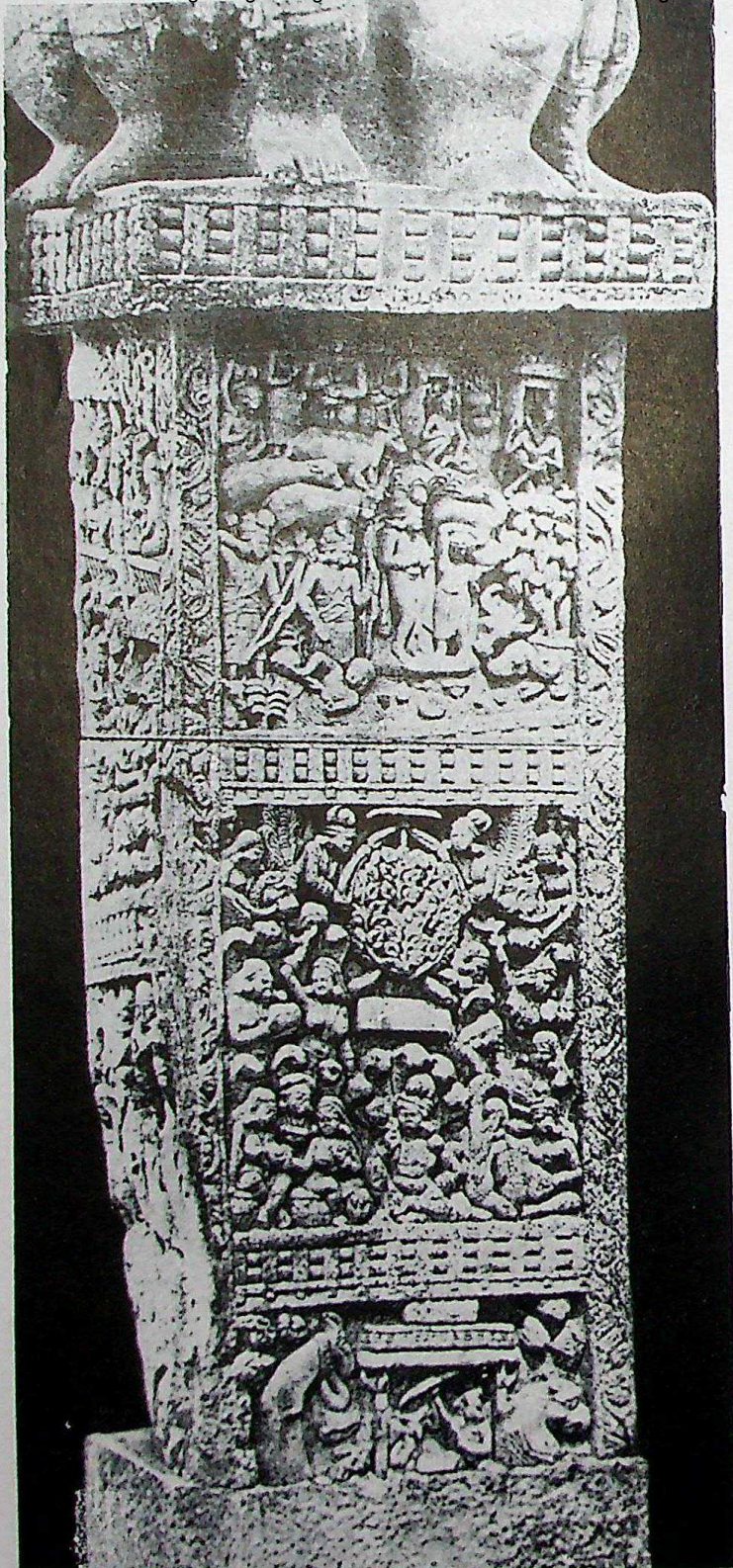
20. Yaksha



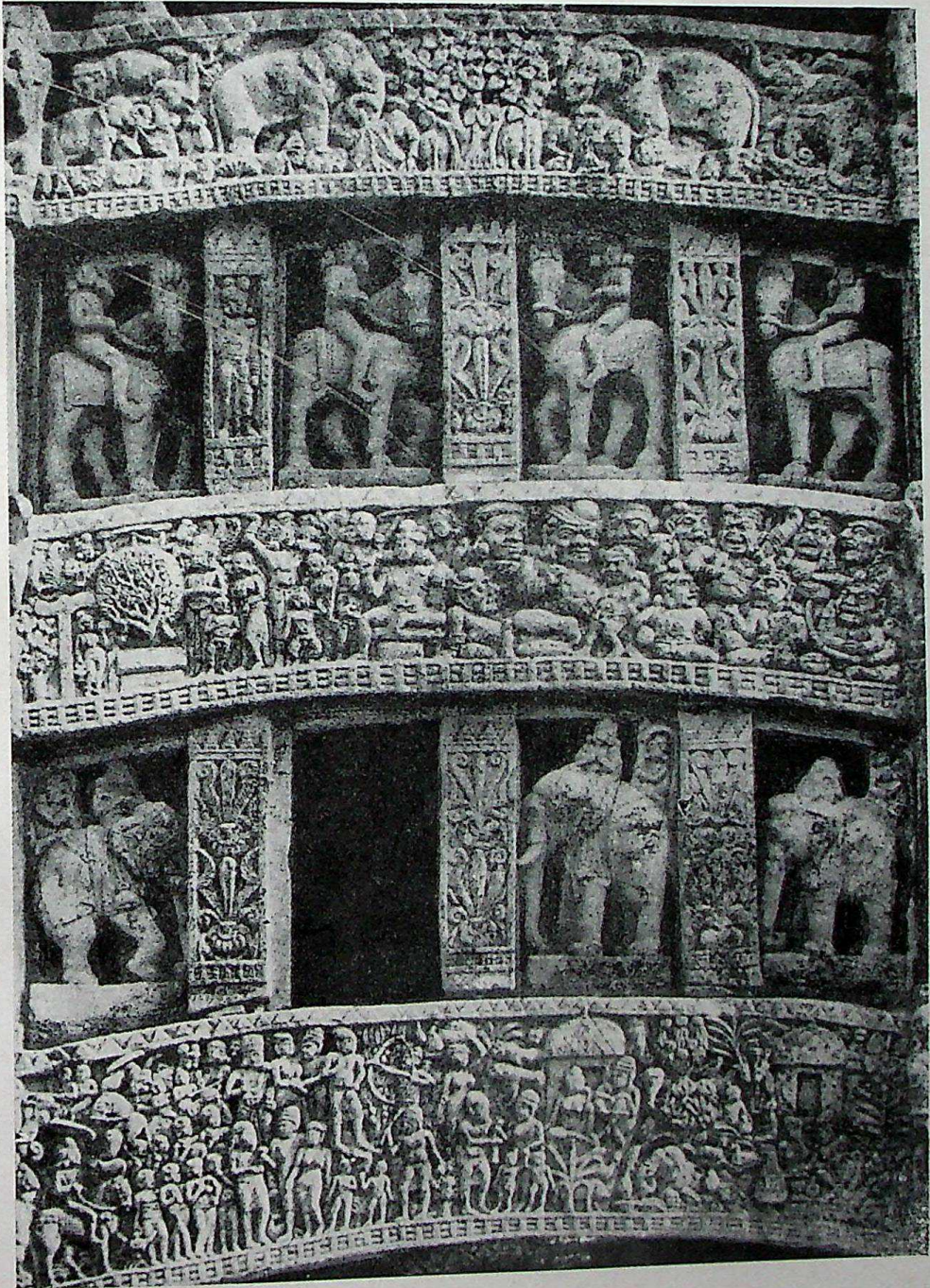
21. North Pillar of Eastern gateway : Six Devalokas



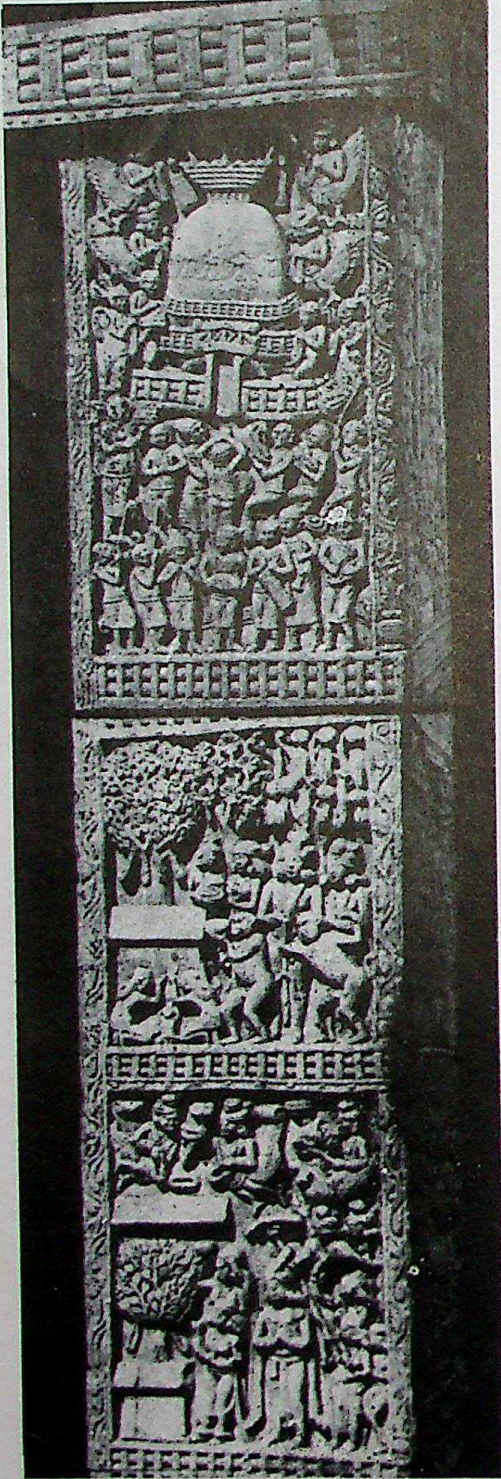
22. North Pillar of Eastern gateway :
(a) Adhyeshana (b) Conception scene



23. Pillar of the Western gateway :
(a) The Syāma Jātaka (b) Nāgamuchalinda episode



24. Back of the Northern gateway :
(a) The Shaddanta Jātaka (b) The Māra's army
(c) The Viśvantara Jātaka



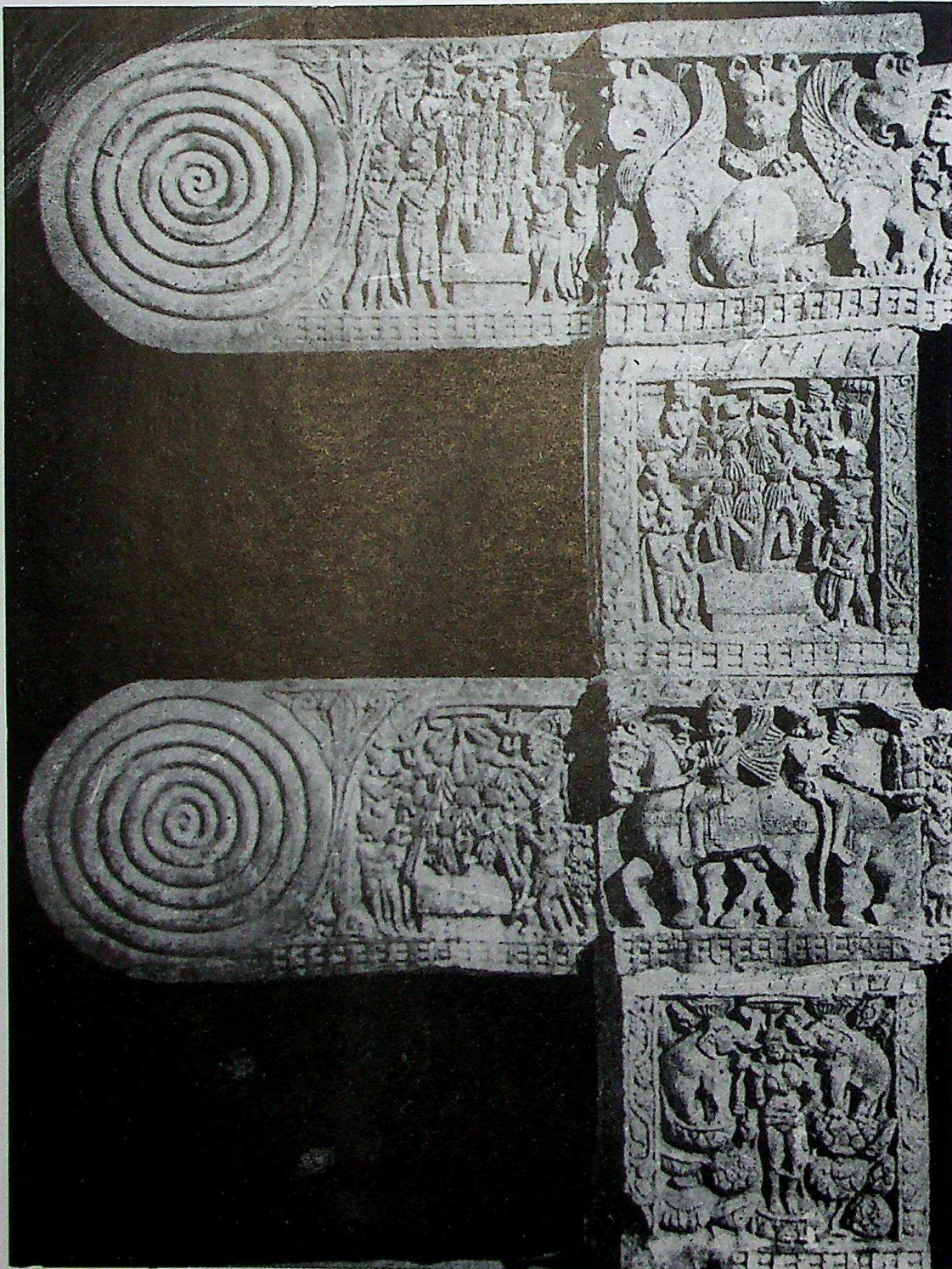
- ←25. West Pillar of the Northern gateway :
 (a) Scene of the feast celebrated by the
 Malla's of Kusinagara (b) The Monkey's
 offering at Vaisali (c) The return to
 Kapilavastu



26. South Pillar of the Western gateway carved
 with Vyāla riders →

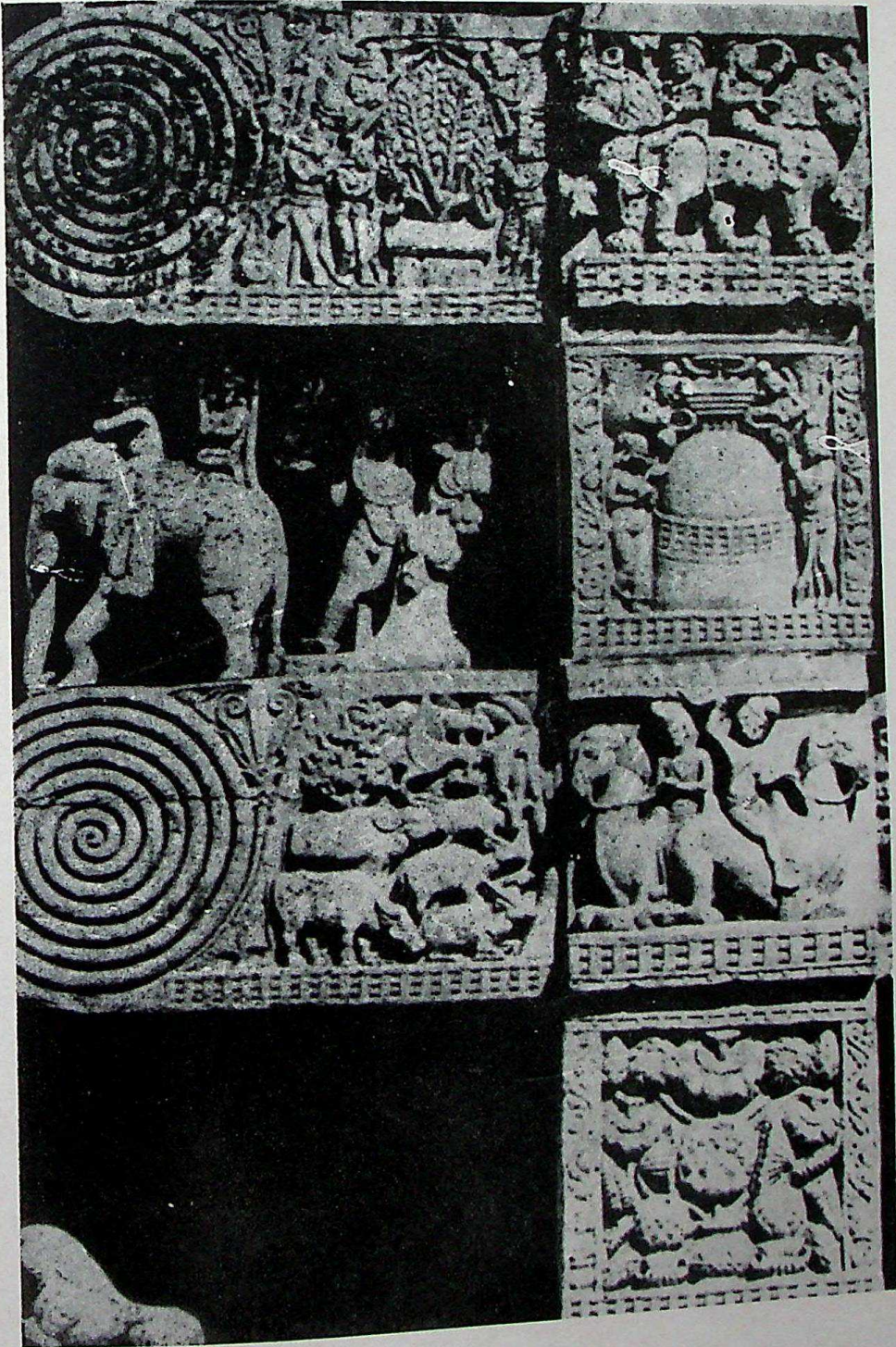


27. South Pillar of the Western gateway : Yaksha



28. Front of Western gateway :

(a) The Sambodhi (b) Bodhi-druma of Vipasyin (c) The Nativity



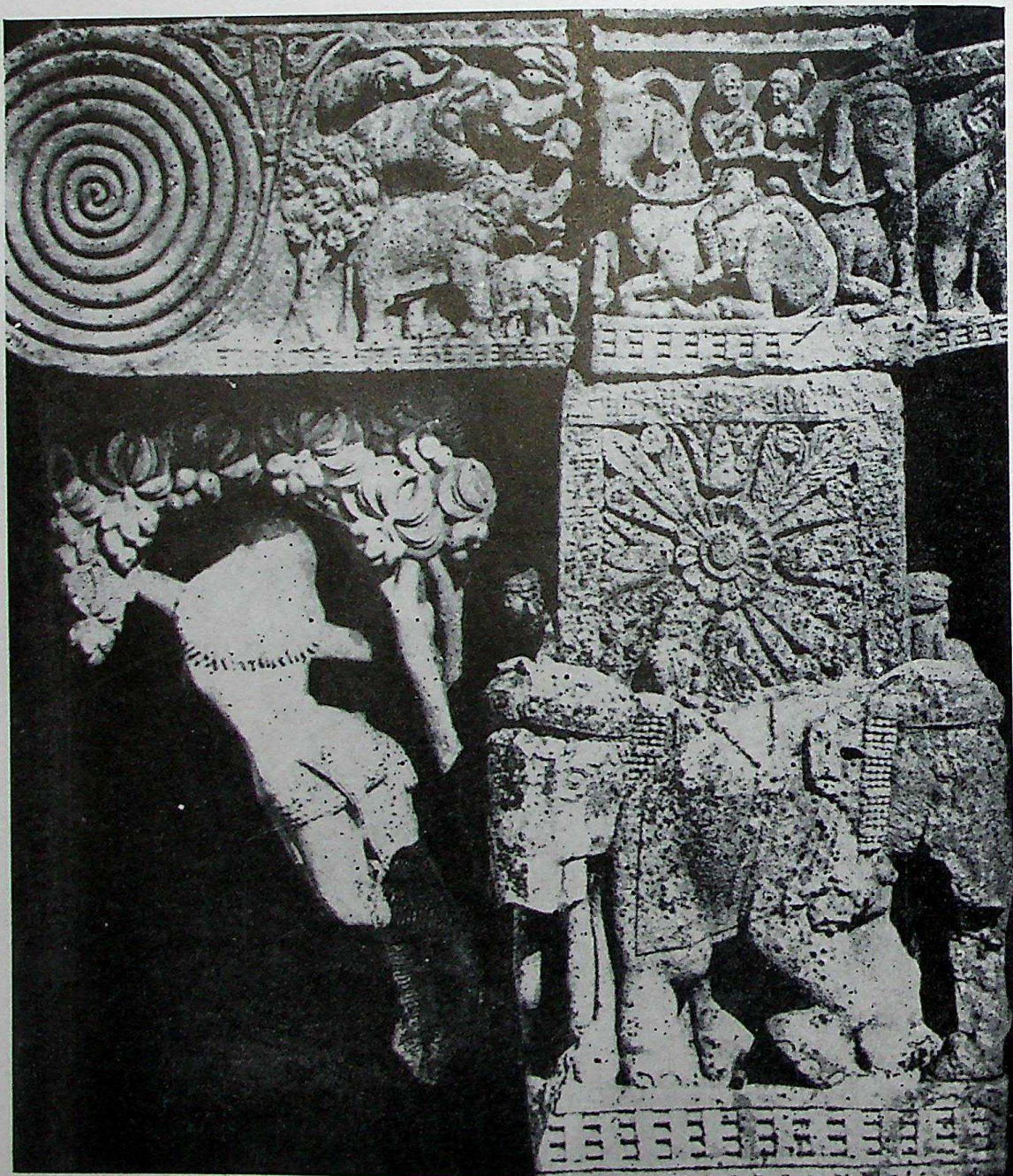
29. Back of the Eastern gateway :
Bodhi-druma worship, mythical animals and camel riders



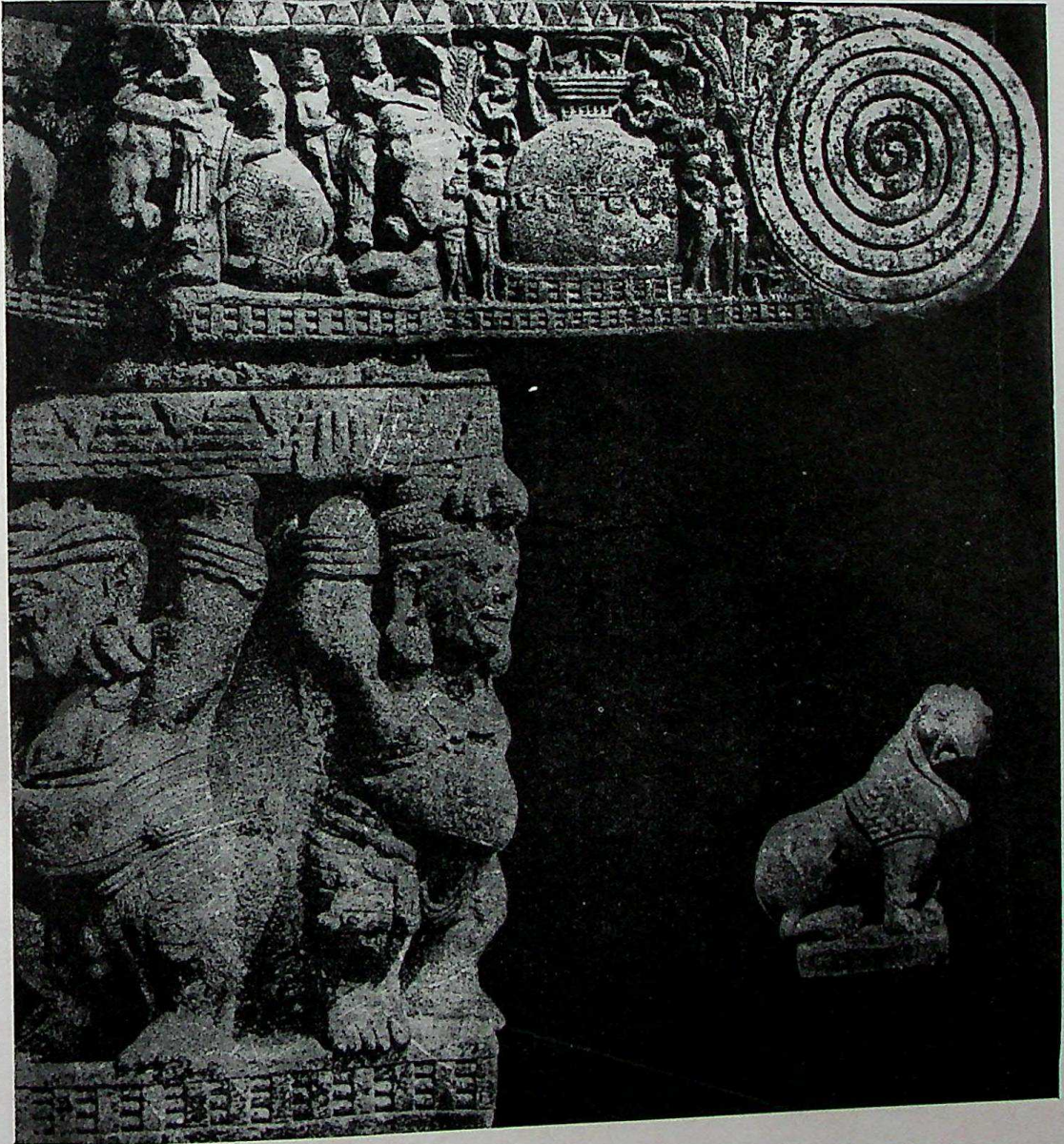
30. Back of the Eastern gateway : north end :
(a) Goat riders (b) Sālabhañjikā



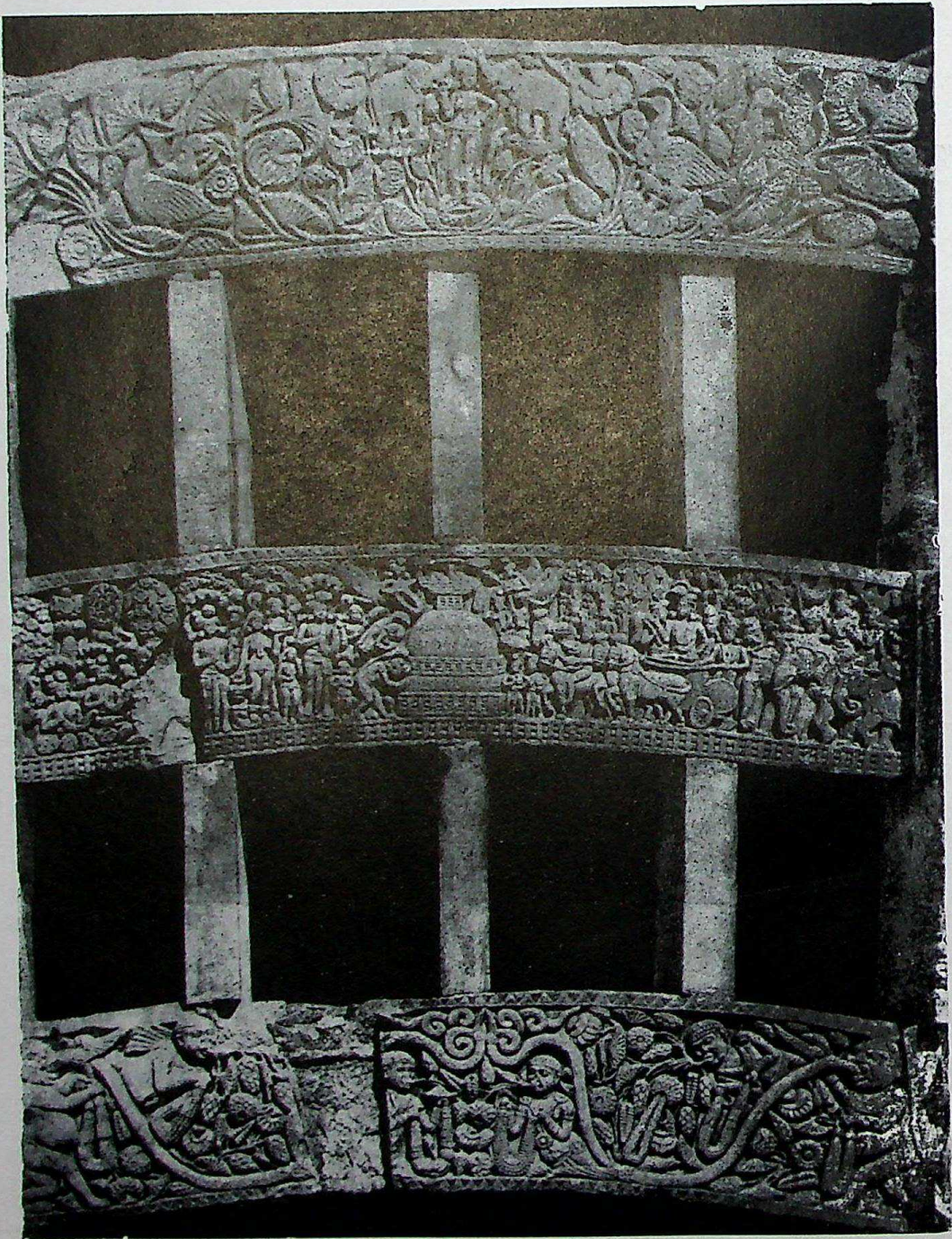
31. Front of the Western gateway : south end :
(a) Elephant riders (b) Stūpa worship (c) Dwarfs



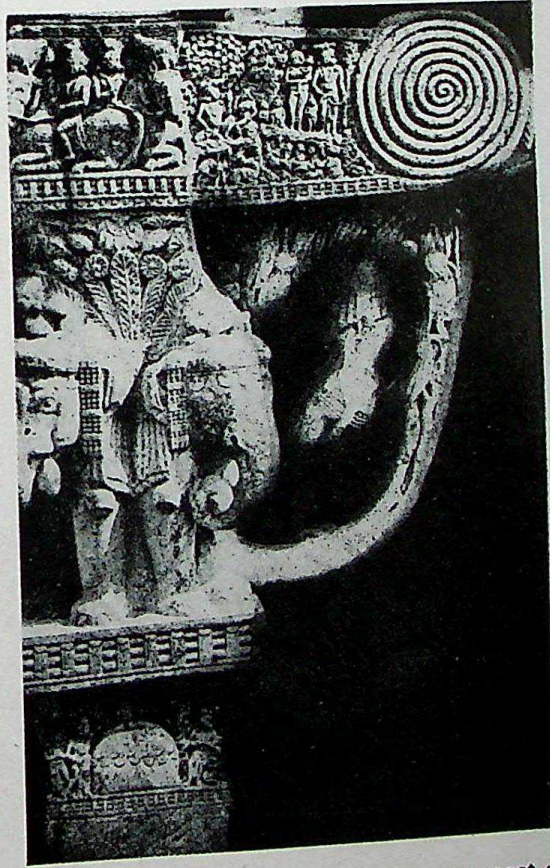
30. Back of the Eastern gateway : north end :
(a) Goat riders (b) Sālabhañjikā



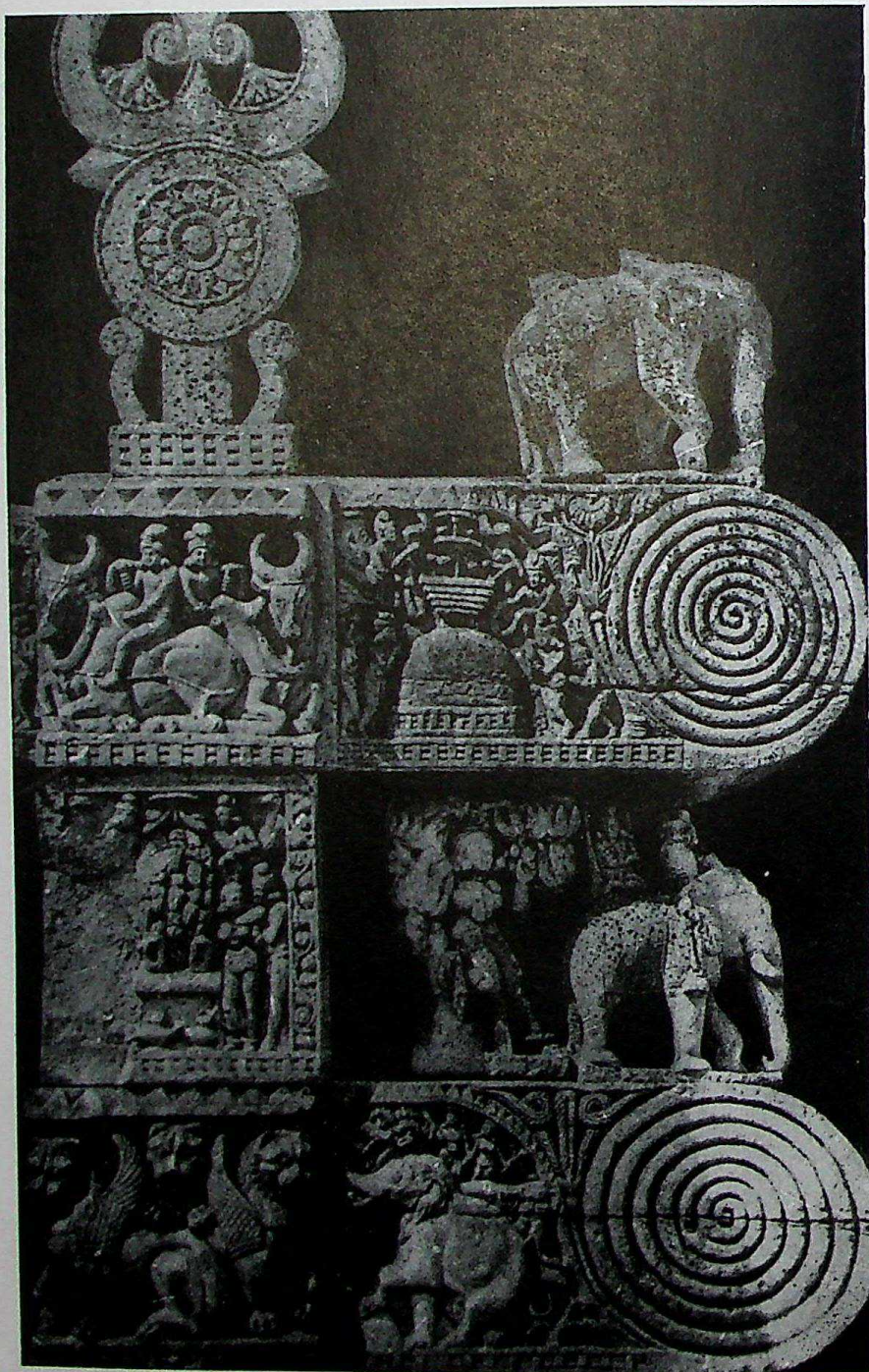
31. Front of the Western gateway : south end :
(a) Elephant riders (b) Stūpa worship (c) Dwarfs



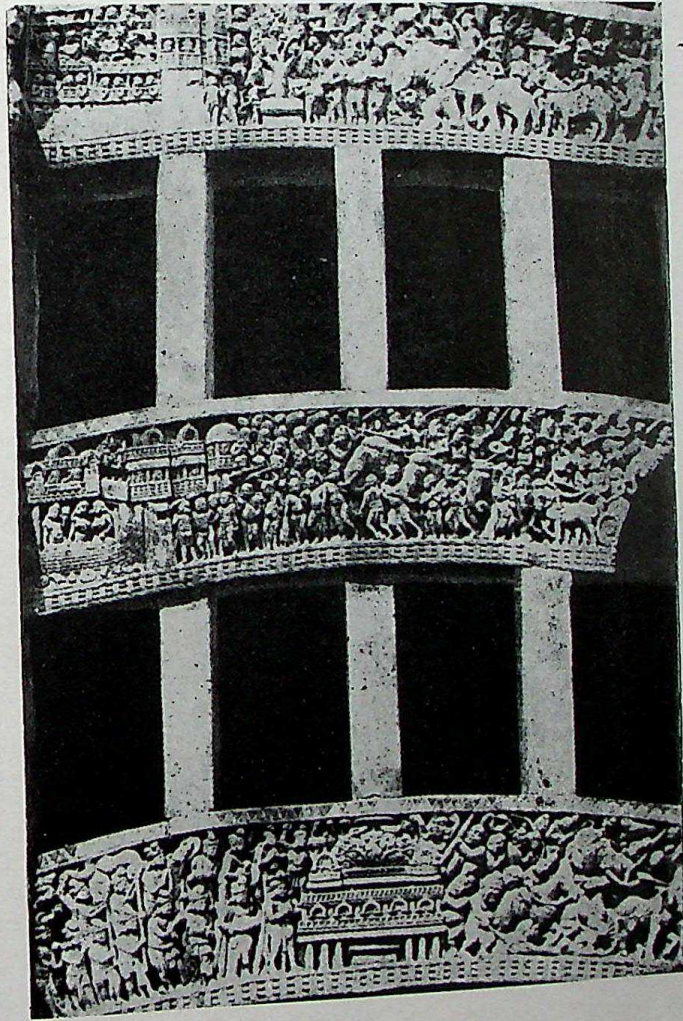
32. Southern gateway :
(a) The Nativity (b) The Parinirvāṇa (c) Kumbhanda spouting forth
a lotus stalk



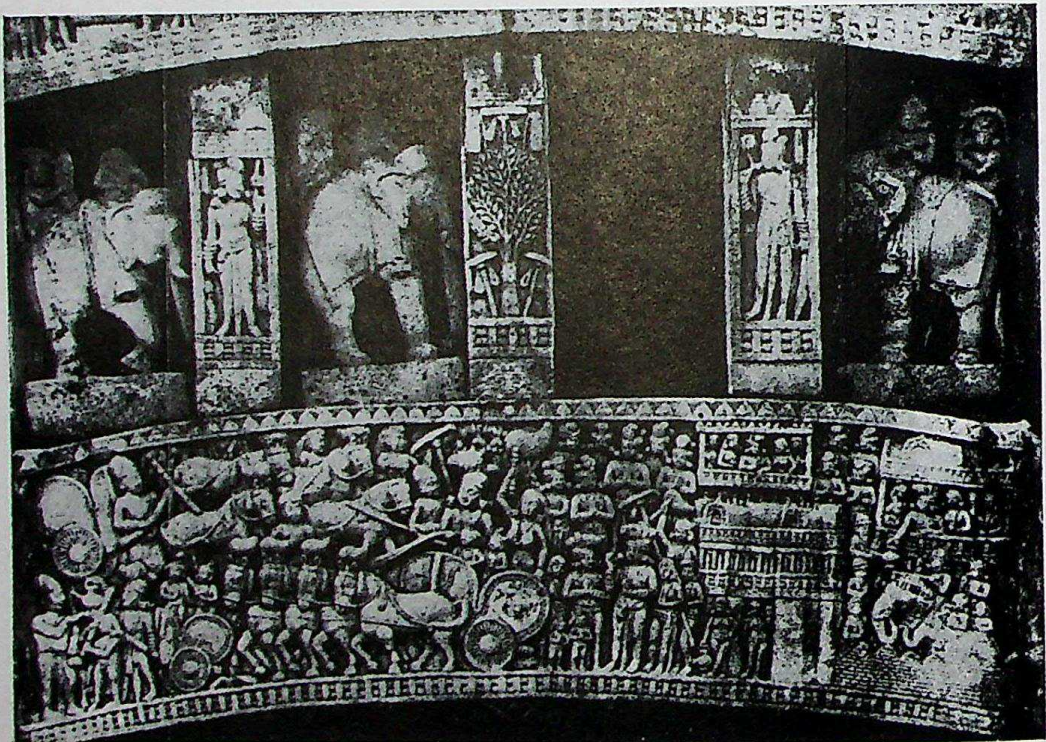
33. Back of the Northern gateway : east end :
(a) Viśvantara Jataka (b) Parinirvāṇa stūpa
(c) Salabhañjikā



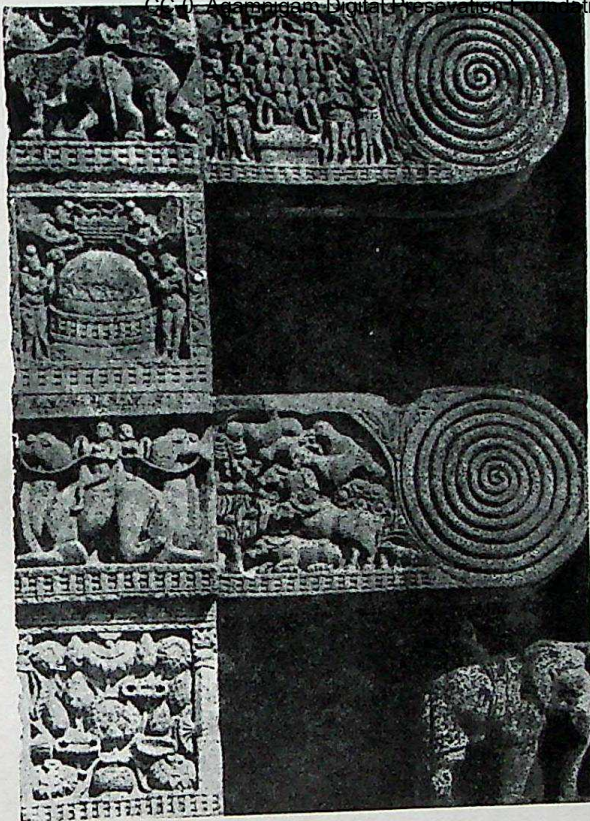
34. Front of the Eastern gateway : north end :
(a) Stūpa worship (b) Sambodhi etc.



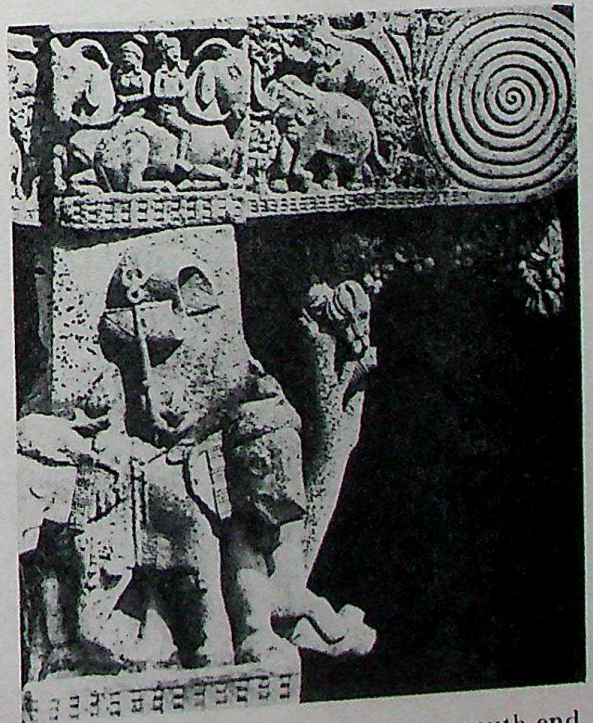
35. Back of the Western gateway :
(a) The transport of the Relics (b) War of the Relics (c) The Great Miracle of the Sambodhi



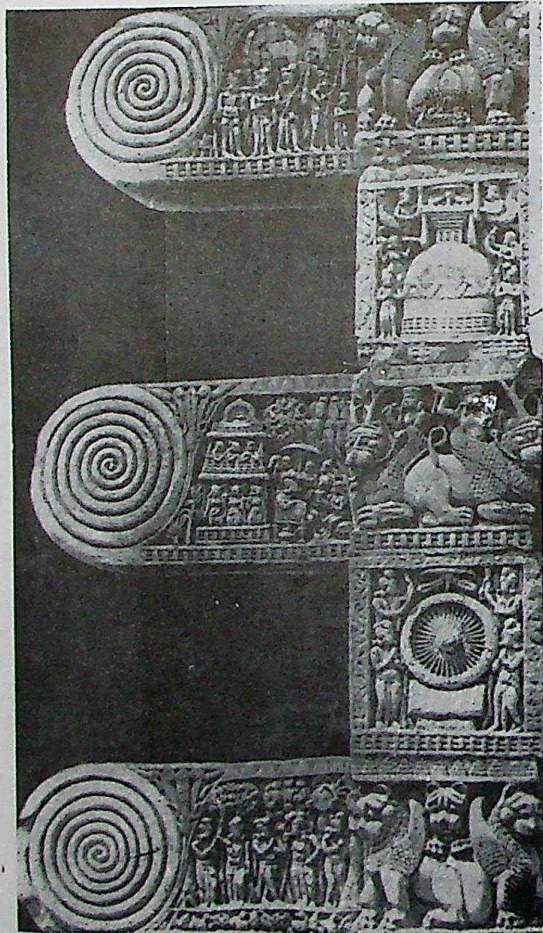
36. Northern gateway : Viśvantara Jataka



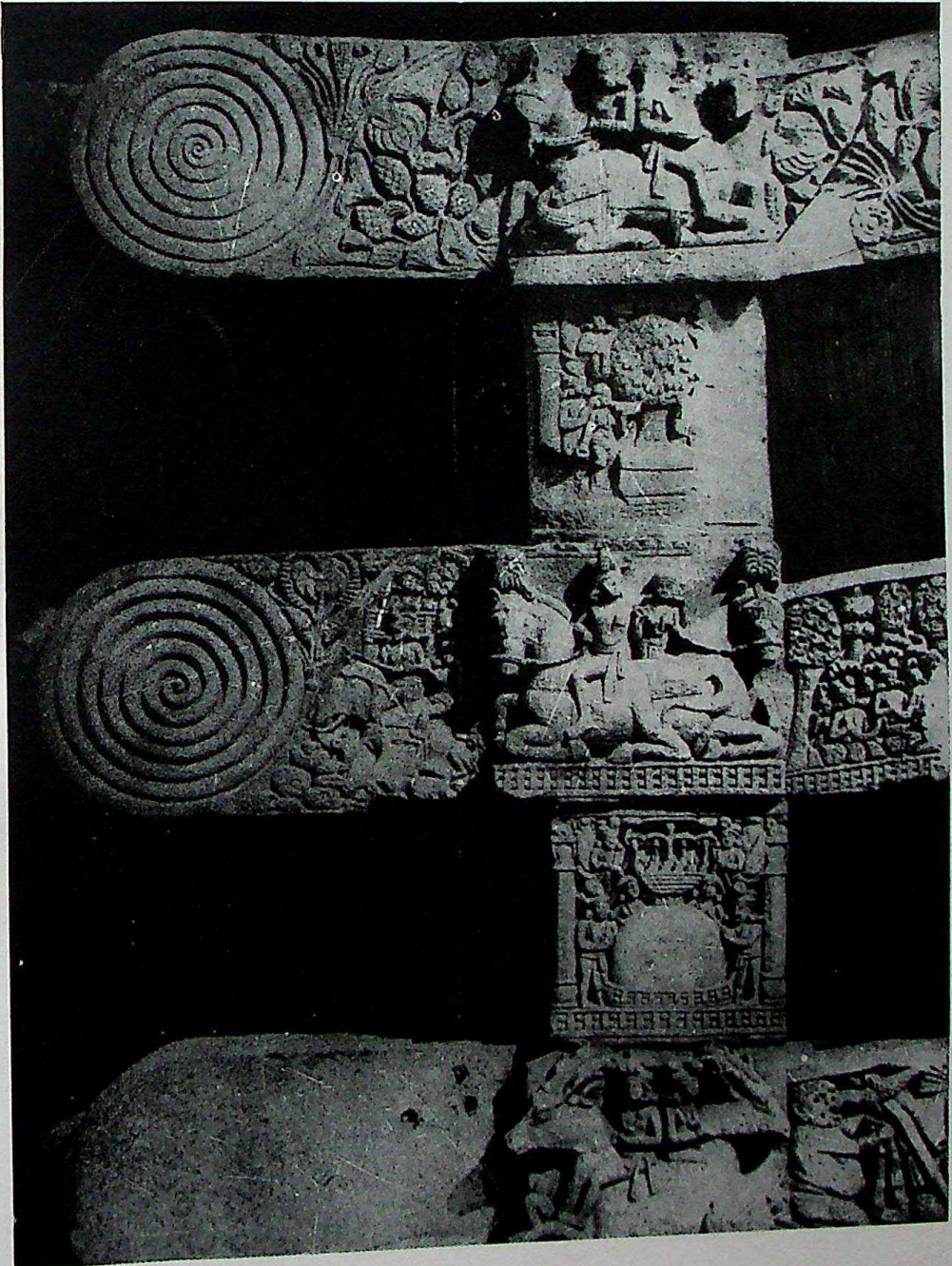
37. Back of the Eastern gateway : south end:
(a) Bodhi-druma Worship (b) Kneeling camels



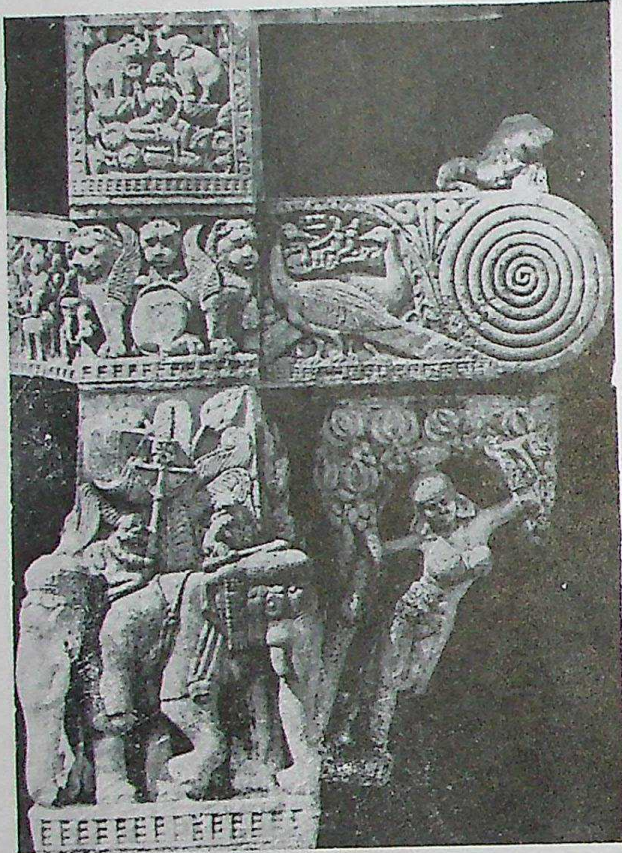
38. Back of the Eastern gateway : south end



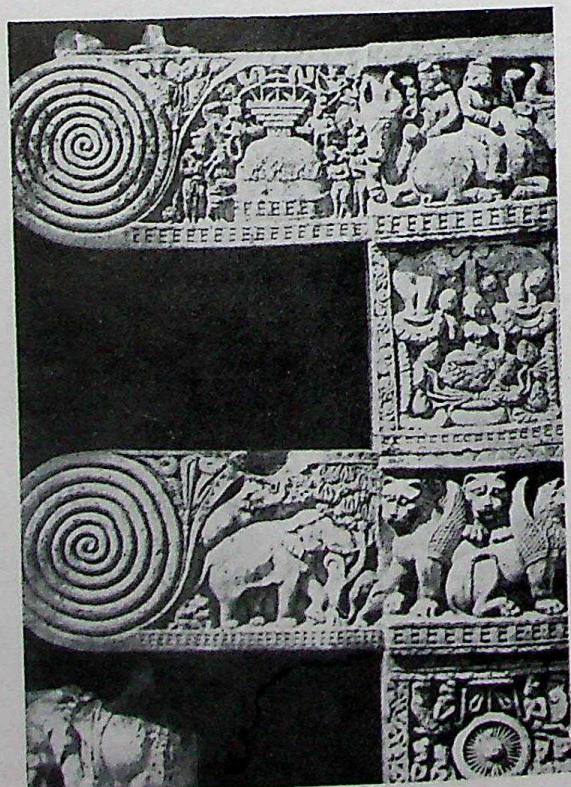
39. Back of the Western : gateway
(a) The Royal procession
(b) The king in the pleasure garden
(c) The procession of goods.



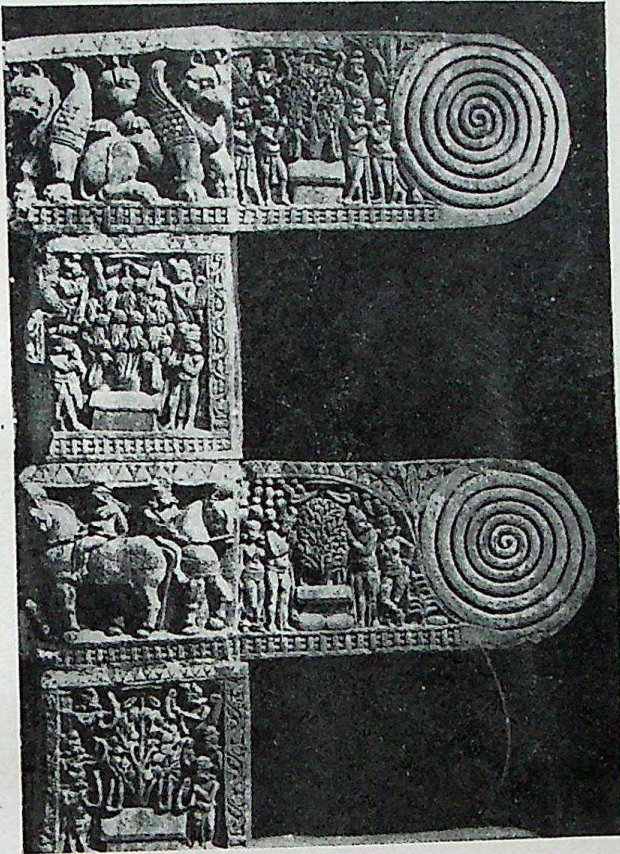
40. Front of the Southern gateway : west end



41. Front of the Eastern gateway



42. Front of the Eastern gateway : south end :
(a) Stūpa worship (b) Elephants tearing mango tree

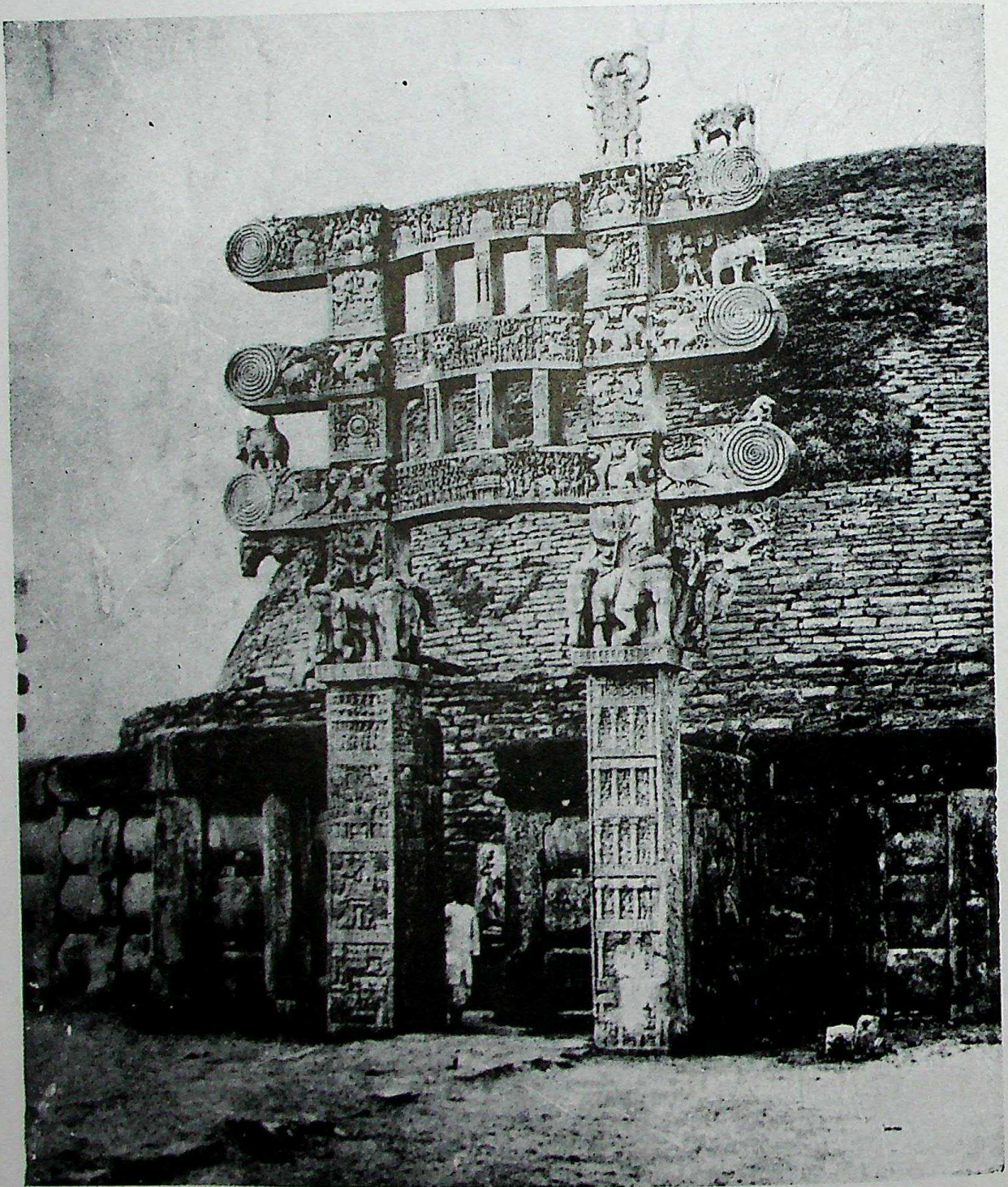


43. Front of the Western gateway :
The Bodhi-druma worship

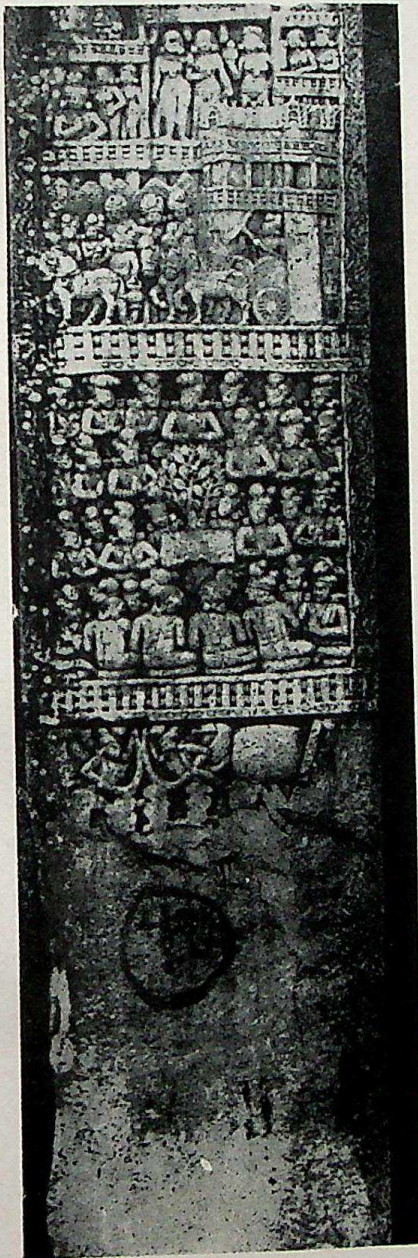
44. East Pillar :

- (a) Muchalinda episode (b) Lokapālas offering to
the Bodhi tree (c) Trapusha and Bhallika
passing through Uruvilva

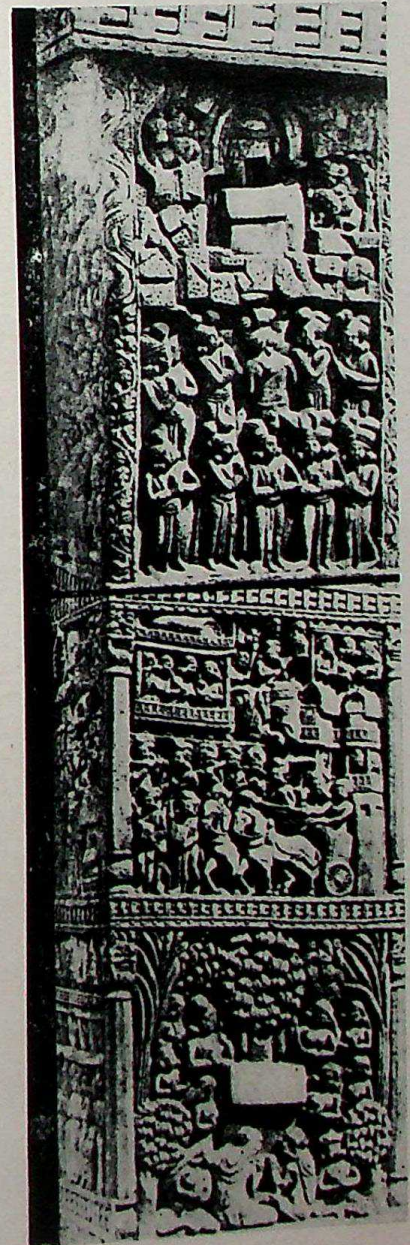




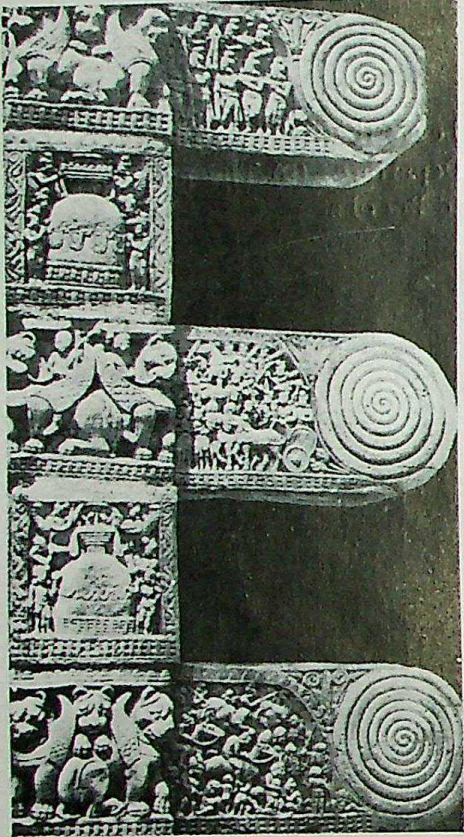
45. Front of the Eastern gateway : Stūpa-I



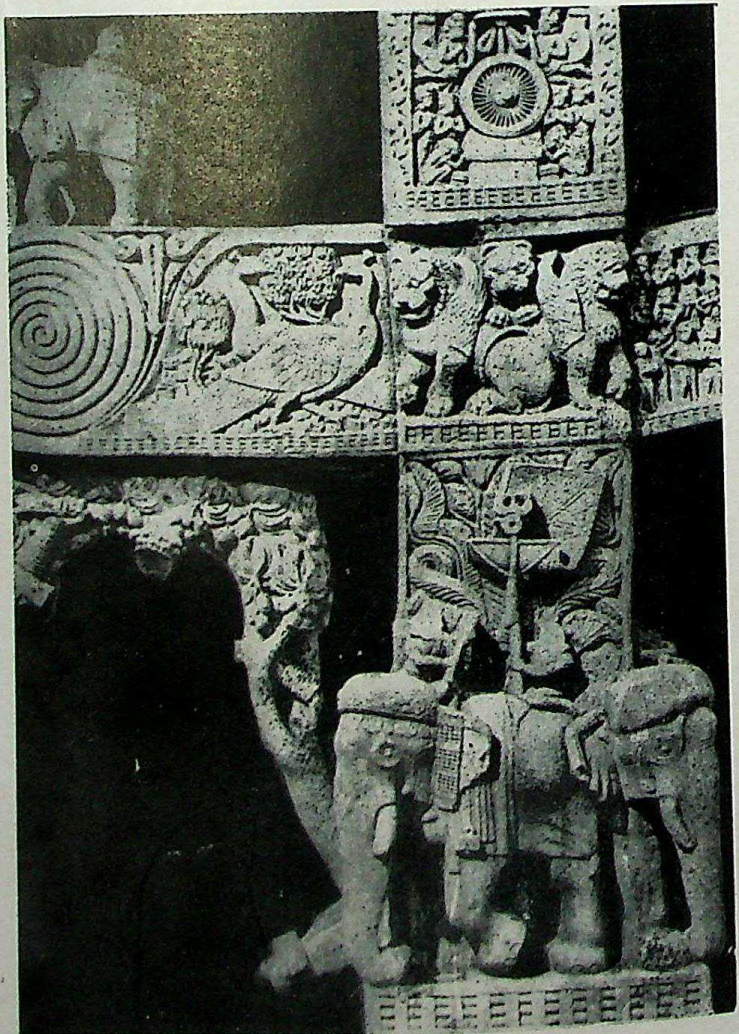
46. West Pillar of the Northern gateway :
(a) The Great Departure (b) The perfectly accomplished Buddha



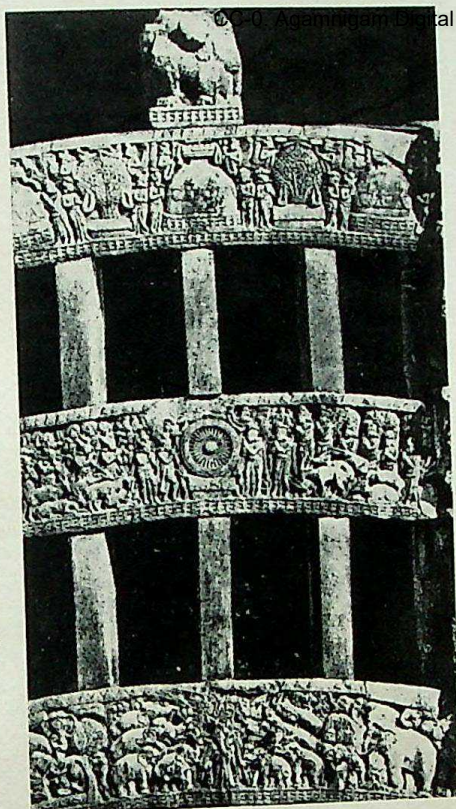
47. East Pillar of the Northern gateway :
(a) Indra's visit (b) and (c) Ajatasatru's visit



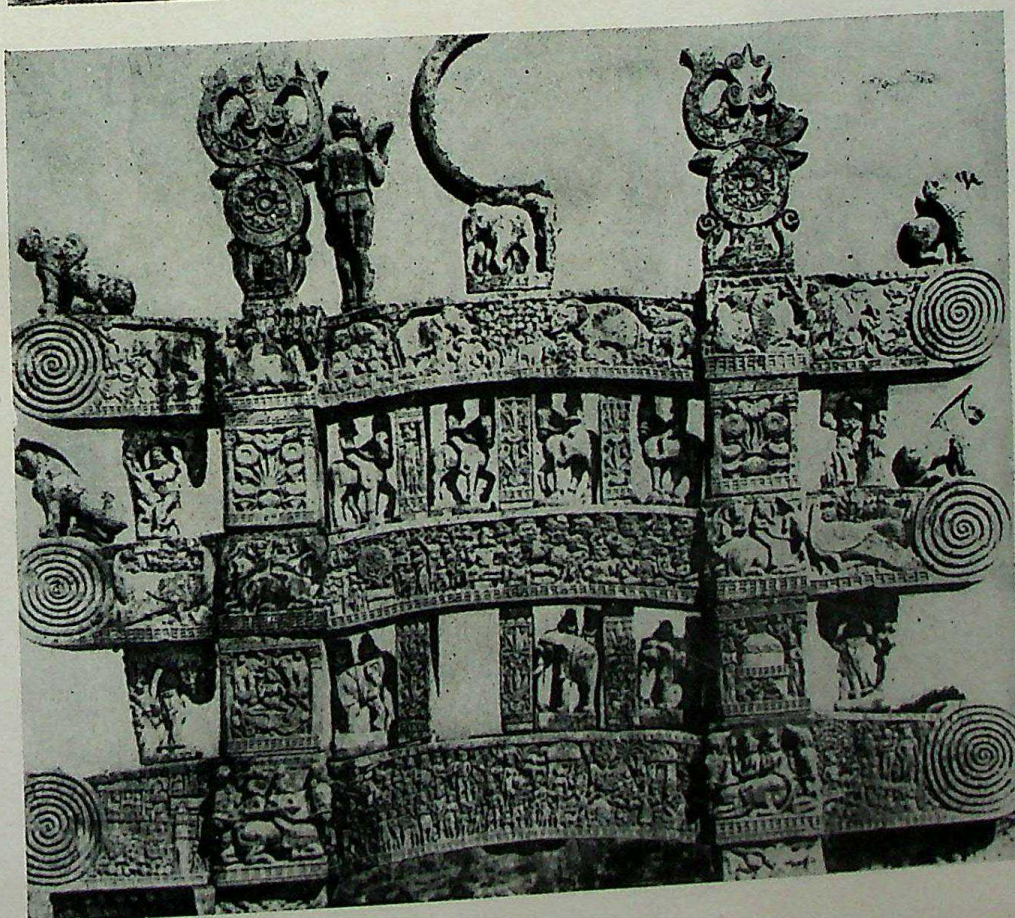
48. Back of the Western gateway : north end :
(a) and (b) Royal procession (c) Māra's army



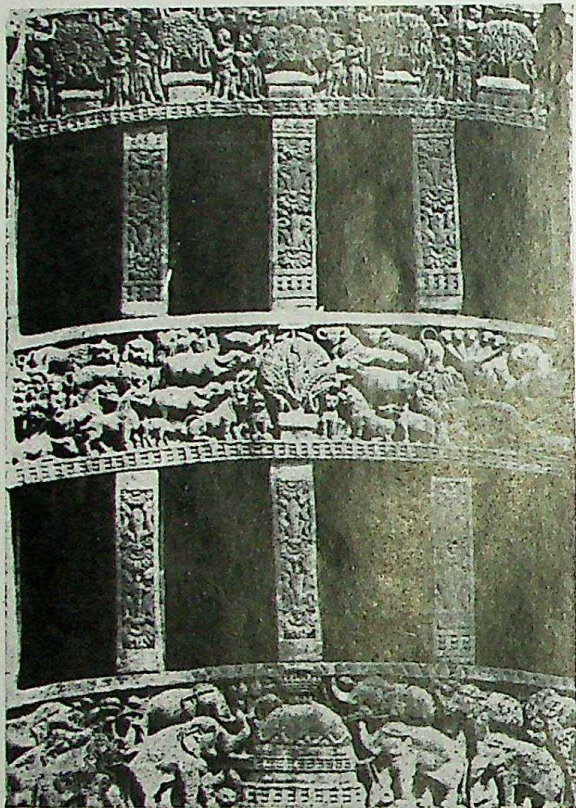
49. Front of the Eastern gateway :
south end



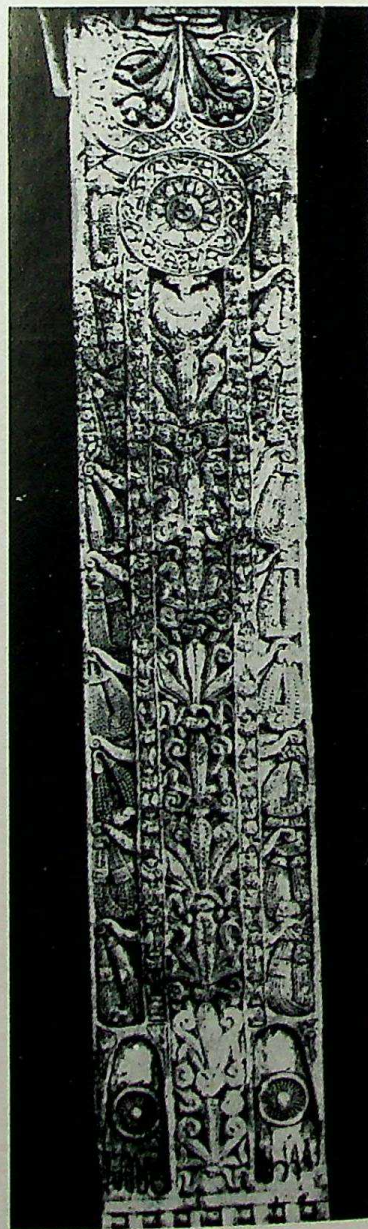
50. Front of the Western gateway :
 (a) Seven Mānushi-Buddhas
 (b) Dharma-chakra worship
 (c) Shadḍanta Jātaka



51. Back of the Northern gateway



52. Back of the Eastern gateway :
(a) The Mānushi-Buddhas
(b) The Buddha in solitude
(c) The Stūpa of Ramagrama



53. East Pillar of the Northern gateway
in decorative design



Fig. 1 : Male Hair Styles



18



7



23



13



5



16



19



21



22



8

Fig. II : Male Hair styles

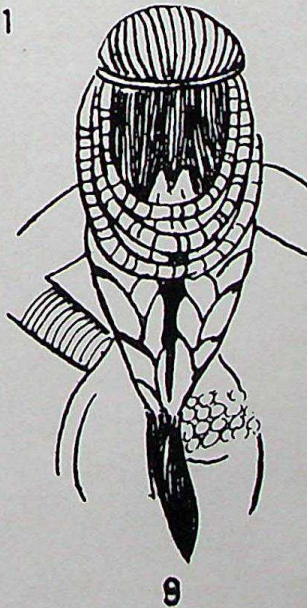


Fig. III : Female Hair styles



SUNDEEP PRAKASHAN
DELHI